

CHECKED
2009-10

THE
MINERVA
BOOK
SHOP
ANAKALI
LAHORE

TO THE READER

KINDLY use this book very carefully. If the book is disfigured or marked or written on while in your possession the book will have to be replaced by a new copy or paid for. In case the book be a volume of set of which single volumes are not available the price of the whole set will be realized.

AMARSINGH COLLEGE



Library.

Class No.

R 826

Book No.

P29F. v.2.

Acc. No.

4024 V47

Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,
In thy most need to go by thy side.

This is No. 753 of Everyman's Library. A list of authors and their works in this series will be found at the end of this volume. The publishers will be pleased to send freely to all applicants a separate, annotated list of the Library.

J. M. DENT & SONS LIMITED
10-13 BEDFORD STREET LONDON W.C.2

E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.
286-302 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY
EDITED BY ERNEST RHYS

HISTORY

THE PASTON LETTERS
EDITED BY JOHN FENN AND RE-
EDITED BY MRS. ARCHER-HIND, M.A.
IN 2 VOLS. VOL. 2

Comp
A-92

(85)

THE PASTON LETTERS



VOLUME TWO



LONDON: J. M. DENT & SONS LTD.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.

All rights reserved
Made in Great Britain
at The Temple Press Letchworth
and decorated by Eric Ravilious
for
J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
Aldine House Bedford St. London
First Published in this Edition 1924
Reprinted 1940

acc no 4024

CONTENTS

NOTE.—All the Letters have been taken from Knight's edition (ed. Ramsay) except those marked †, which are from Sir J. Fenn's edition, vol. v.

LETTER	PAGE
235. Local Feuds	I
236. The Troubles of Margaret Paston	3
237. Young John asks for New Stockings	4
238. Violence and Sacrilege	5
239. John Paston in the Fleet Prison	7
240. Hospitality	9
241. J. Paston's Friendship for 100 Marks	10
242. News of the Day	11
243. Summons to Framlingham	12
244. The King lay at Cambridge	13
245. A Grateful Protégé	13
246. "I am Heir and none other"	15
247. Indiscretion of Sir John's Cousin Mary	16
248. Treacle Pots	17
249. The Widow Elizabeth Poynings, <i>née</i> Paston, on her Wrongs	18
250. Oil for Salads	20
251. A Widow's Advice to her Son the Heir	22
252. Unworthy Witnesses	23
253. Oxford <i>v.</i> Cambridge	24
254. A Young Lady's Jointure	26
255. The King's Doings	26
256. Margaret Paston would marry Anne, her Daughter.	27
257. Keeping a Mother's Year-Day or Obit	28
258. Wedding of Margaret Plantagenet and Charles the Bold	29
259. "This Troublesome World".	32
260. The Duke of Norfolk would purchase Caister	33
261. Caister must be defended	34
262. The Queen's Chaplain to go to Caister	36
263. Of Money and a Horse	37
264. Payment of Copyists	37
265. Sir J. Paston engaged to be married	41
266. Smart Clothes	43
267. Sir John has Powerful Friends	44
268. Sir J. Paston to marry	45
269. Sir John to his Brother John	45
270. The Dying Brackley clears J. Paston's Character	46
271. King Edward is Clever	48
272. Family Pride of Sir John Paston	51
273. Improper Engagement of Margery Paston	53
274. The King's Movements	55

LETTER	PAGE
275. Loyal Norwich	56
276. Sir John Paston's Liveries	56
277. Margery holds to her Lover	57
278. Sir John appears Neglectful	60
279. Continued Trouble about Caister	61
280. Caister again	62
281. Litigation by Siege	65
282. Sir John protests	68
283. Sir John exhorts his Brother John	70
284. A Mother's Counsels	71
285. Letter to the Besiegers	73
286. Caister is to be vacated	75
287. John Paston gives in	75
288. Care for Faithful Servants	76
289. Two Widows are to sue John Paston	78
290. John Paston to his Brother Sir John	79
291. The Widow's Appeal against John Paston	80
292. Price of Horse Harness	81
293. Of Ladies, Oranges, and Turks	82
294. The Archbishop sends 20 <i>l.</i> on Account	84
295. Severe Rule of King Edward	84
296. The Widows' Appeal once more	85
297. Of the same Matter	87
298. Copies of King Edward's Letters	88
299. Caister settled at last	89
300. The Country is Unquiet	90
301. Commands from King Edward	91
302. Henry VI. has been restored	92
303. The Widow marries again	94
304. Waiting for Money and Horses	95
305. Wages to be paid	96
306. Henry VI. is on the Throne	97
307. Rhymed Latin Verses	100
308. Norfolk is pro-Henry	101
309. Raising an Army for Henry	102
310. Rumours of Kings	103
311. John Paston wounded in the Battle of Barnet	103
312. Lancastrian Supplies	105
313. John Paston wounded and in want of Money (Précis)	106
314.† John's Bill of Pardon	107
315. News Public and Personal	108
316. Various Tidings from London	111
317. Sir John has neglected his Mother (Précis)	113
318. Sir John is more Prosperous	113
319. The Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester are Unfriendly	114
320. A Bankrupt's Debts	115
321. "Many Quarrels are picked" (Précis)	117
322. Vote for Sir John Paston!	118

LETTER	PAGE
323. John Paston helping his Brother	118
324. John Paston's Desire for a Goshawk (Précis)	122
325. Sir John's Talk is Overbold	122
326. My Lady of Norfolk	124
327. Sir John's proper Pride (Précis)	124
328. The Goshawk and the Magpie (Précis)	125
329. A Licence for the Chapel (Précis)	126
330. Petition for the Restoration of Caister (Précis)	127
331. Sir John is Facetious	127
332. A Tax Collector (Précis)	128
333. "On Dit"	128
334. Tumults are feared (Précis)	129
335. "The World seemeth Queasy"	130
336. Servant Troubles, &c.	131
337. "Flying Tales"	133
338. Many Attendants and Fine Clothes for a Knight	134
339. Of some Women Friends	136
340. From Lord Hastings	137
341.† Sir John seeking Money	138
342. Sir John Paston would administer his Father's Will (Précis)	141
343. A Filial Letter	141
344. The King is attracted to Norfolk	142
345. Looking for a Wife	144
346. Sir John still wants Money and Books (Précis)	146
347. The same Subject (Précis)	146
348. Of Various Ladies	147
349. A Hard-hearted Woman	149
350. Sir John to John his Brother	150
351. Borrowing and Lending (Précis)	152
352. The same Subject (Précis)	153
353. Sir John asks for Help from his Relations (Précis)	153
354. Sir John does not care to buy Books (Précis)	154
355. Uncertainty of Letters	154
356. Negotiation for a Marriage between J. Berney and Alice Southwell (Précis)	154
357. Margaret's care for her Sons (Précis)	155
358. Place-hunting (Précis)	155
359. Delays in Correspondence	156
360. A Peace concluded for Seven Years (Précis)	156
361. Will Caister be recovered for the Pastons? (Précis)	157
362. The King and Caister	157
363. The Duke of Norfolk dead	158
364. The Duchess may occupy Caister (Précis)	159
365. Sundry Items of News	160
366. Recommending a Servant (Précis)	162
367. Master Fitzwalter befriends Sir John (Précis)	163
368. John Paston gossiping to his Mother (Précis)	163
369. Lord Rivers robbed	164

LETTER	PAGE
370.†Cloth of Gold	166
371.†A Wife wanted	166
372. Sir John seems successful about Caister (Précis)	167
373.†Marriage as a Bargain	168
374. Walter warned not to be rash in taking Orders (Précis)	169
375. Margery Brews' Mother begins a Treaty for her Marriage (Précis)	170
376.†Lady Brews offers her Daughter	170
377. Charles the Bold dead	171
378. Valentine's Day	172
379. A Girl's Love Letter	173
380. Marriage is doubtful	174
381. A Question of Dowry	175
382. To meet the Bride's Mother	176
383. More of the Match	177
384.†John to marry Margery Brews or Another	178
385.†Still Uncertain	179
386.†Of Margery's Dowry	180
387.†Apparently Jocose	180
388.†Notes touching the Marriage	182
389. Sir John leaves his Letters unanswered (Précis)	183
390. Sir John rebukes John, his Brother (Précis)	183
391. A Poem by Pympe	184
392. Sir John is generous to his Brother	186
393. Sir John writes kindly	187
394. Good Progress towards a Marriage (Précis)	188
395. Lord Hastings to John Paston	189
396. John's Money Affairs	190
397. Artful Management (Précis)	191
398. Family Disputes about Money (Précis)	192
399. The Widowed Mother is indignant (Précis)	193
400. Of the Wars in France	194
401. A Steward's Business Letter (Précis)	196
402. J. Paston and Margery Brews are now married	197
403. John Paston advises his Elder Brother (Précis)	199
404. John Paston intriguing for Edmund's Marriage (Précis)	199
405. Of a Young Lady; and some poor Latin Verses	201
406. Sir John's Mistress writes (Précis)	202
407. Of a Suitable Tomb for Sir John's Father	203
408. Concerning Walter's Expenses at Oxford (Précis)	204
409. Of litigated Titles, and of a Pageant (Précis)	205
410. Of the Tomb, and of a Proposed Bride	207
411. Congratulations and News	209
412.†An Eton Boy	211
413.†Walter Paston ineligible for the Church	211
414.†Walter at Oxford	212
415.†Walter's Oxford Expenses	213
416.†Walter a B.A.	213
417.†Walter is dead and his Grandmother Agnes	214

LETTER	PAGE
418. Sir John's Last Letter.	215
419. Bill of Receipts and Expenses (Précis)	216
420. <i>Re</i> Edmund and the Widow Clippesby (Précis)	216
421. Edmund and John after Sir John's Death (Précis)	219
422. Sir John is buried in London	220
423.† "Mine Unkind Uncle"	221
424. Of a Brother's Tombstone (Précis)	222
425. Edmund Paston and his "Huswife" (Précis)	223
426. Uncle William on his Property (Précis).	224
427. Edmund suggests a Wife to his Brother William (Précis)	225
428. Earl Rivers is "set sore to Improvement and Husbandry" (Précis)	226
429. A Business Letter from Margery Paston (<i>née</i> Brews) to her Husband (Précis)	226
430. Margery is loving and wise (Précis)	227
431. John Paston to his Mother about her Will (Précis)	228
432. Of a Regrettable "Strangeness"	230
433. From a Royal Princess	230
434. To a Foreign Lady	231
435. Catalogue of John Paston's Books	232
436. Verses by a Lady Unknown.	233
437. Conspiracy against Richard III.	235
438. An Order to pay	235
439. Address of Richard III.	236
440. John Paston is Sheriff.	239
441. Maimed Rites at Christmas	240
442.† Dame Elizabeth Browne (<i>née</i> Paston) to her Nephew John Paston	241
443. Henry of Richmond has landed	242
444.† The Countess of Surrey to John Paston.	243
445.† Margery Paston to John Paston	244
446.† Sir William Paston's Bequests (Précis)	245
447.† Earl and Bishop.	245
448.† A Plaster is asked for	246
449.† A Whale	246
450.† More about the Whale	247
451.† Salvage	249
452.† The Bishop of Durham traffics in Coal (Précis)	250
453.† Gratitude	250
454.† Humorous	250
455.† Of Marriage with Sir J. Paston's Natural Daughter	251
456.† Condolence and Advice	251
457.† A Grand Occasion	252
INDEX OF THE LETTERS	257
GENERAL INDEX	261

PASTON LETTERS

EDWARD IV.—1460 TO 1483—*continued*

LETTER CCXXXV.—LOCAL FEUDS

To my master, John Paston, in haste.

PLEASETH it your mastership to weete of the rule and disposition of the M—— Philip¹ and the bailiff of Cossey, with others of my Lord of Suffolk's men, on Monday last past at afternoon were at Heylesdon with the number of three hundred men for to have entered, notwithstanding they said they came not for to enter, but without doubt and they had been strong enough for us they would have entered, and that we understand now; but we knowing of their coming, and purveyed so for them, that we were strong enough; we had sixty men within the place, and guns, and such ordnance, so that if they had set upon us they had been destroyed; and there my mistress² was within, and my master Sir John, and (*he*) hath gotten him as great worship for that day as any gentleman might do, and so is it reported of the party and in all Norwich; and my Lord of Norwich³ sent thither Master John Salett and Master John Bulleman for to treat, and so they did; and the duke's men said they had a warrant for to attach John Daubeney, Wykes, Calle, Hunworth, and Blickling, and other, which they would have, and my master Sir John answered them and said that they were not within, and though we had been they should not have had them; and so they desired one of our men, and so Naunton stood by my mistress and asked them whom they would have, and said if they would have him he would go with them, and so he did, and on the next day they carried him forth to my Lord of

¹ This does not clearly point out the person. [Is it not the Philip Lipzate whose name is given in the preceding letter? We are inclined to think, also, that the M. before Philip does not in this place stand for *master*, but for the place, probably *manor*, in which case the subsequent interpolation of *who* becomes unnecessary.]

² We have often seen Margaret Paston in the character of wife, mother, and friend, but this is the first time of her appearance as the governess of a fortress, for such this may now be called.

³ Walter Lyhart, Bishop of Norwich.

Suffolk to Claxton, through Norwich, and there we had found a remedy for him for to have let him, and he would not, but needs go forth with them; but like a gentleman he was entreated amongst them. And Harleston desired at Heylesdon to speak with my master Sir John, and so he did, and said to him it were right well done that he rode to my Lord of Suffolk, and desired him in any wise that he should do so, and said that it was his duty so for to do, inasmuch as my lord was come to country, and that he would ride with him and bring him to my lord; and he answered and said to him, when that he understood that my lord were his father's good lord and his, that then he would see his lordship, and else he had none errand to him; and so they departed; and then appointment was taken that they should send home their men, and we should send home ours; and now my Lord of Suffolk's men come from Claxton to Norwich, and face us and fray upon us thus daily; there fell upon me before Swaine's door twelve of his men, eight of them in harness, and there they would have mischieved me, and the sheriff letted them and other, and they make their avaunt were that I may be gotten I should die, and so they lie in await for to mischief me, Daubeney, and Wykes; and so I dare not ride out alone without a man with me; and I understand there is coming an oyer determiner to inquire of all riots, and my Lord of Suffolk and Yelverton be commissioners; and so they say as many of us as can be taken shall be indicted and hanged forthwith; and so the people here are dismayed with their rule, wherefore that it like you to send word how my mistress shall do at Heylesdon, and we in all other matters; and whether ye will that we fetch again the flock of Heylesdon, for they are now driven to Causton, and there go they on the heath; and my Lord of Suffolk will be at Drayton on Lammas day, and keep the court there, wherefore ye must seek a remedy for it or else it will not do well.

If my Lord of Norfolk¹ would come he should make all well, for they fear him above all things, for it is noised here that my Lord of Norfolk hath taken party in this matter, and all the country is glad of it, saying that if he come they will wholly go with him.

And me seemeth it were well done to move my lord in it though ye should give him the profits of Heylesdon and Drayton for the keeping, and some money beside; for ye must seek some other remedy than ye do, or else in my conceit it shall go to the

¹ John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, whose favour, it appears here, must have been purchased at a high price.

devil and be destroyed, and that in right short time, and therefore at the reverence of God take some appointment with Master Yelverton, and such as ye think should most hurt.

I beseech you to pardon me of my writing, for I have pity to see the tribulation that my mistress hath here, and all your friends, &c.

Almighty Jesu preserve and keep you. Written the Wednesday next Saint Thomas's day (7th of July).

Your poor servant and beadsman,

RICHARD CALLE.

Wednesday, 10th of July, 1465.
5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXXXVI.—THE TROUBLES OF MARGARET PASTON

To my right worshipful husband, John Paston, in haste.

RIGHT worshipful husband I recommend me to you, praying you heartily that ye will seek a mean that your servants may be in peace, for they be daily in fear of their lives; the Duke of Suffolk's men threaten daily Daubeney, Wykes, and Richard Calle, that wheresoever they may get them they shall die; and affrays have been made on Richard Calle this week, so that he was in great jeopardy at Norwich among them; and great affrays have been made upon me and my fellowship here on Monday last past, of which Richard Calle telleth me that he hath sent you word of in writing more plainly than I may do at this time, but I shall inform you more plainly hereafter.

I suppose there shall be great labour against you and your servants at the assizes and sessions here, wherefore me seemeth, saving your better advice, it were well done that ye should speak with the justices ere they come here; and if ye will that I complain to them or to any other, if Good fortune me life and health, I will do as ye advise me to do, for in good faith I have been simply entreated among them, and what with sickness and trouble that I have had, I am brought right low and weak, but to my power I will do as I can or may in your matters.

The Duke of Suffolk¹ and both the duchesses shall come to Claxton this day, as I am informed, and this next week he shall be at Cossey; whether he will come further hitherward or not

¹ John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and sister of King Edward IV. The duchess his mother, the relict of the late Duke of Suffolk, was daughter and heir of Thomas Chaucer, Esq., and was grand-daughter to that famous poet, Geoffrey Chaucer. She died in 1475.

I wot not yet; it is said that he should come hither, and yet his men said here on Monday that he claimed no title to this place. They said their coming was but to take out such riotous people as was here within this place, and such as were the king's felons, and indicted and outlawed men, nevertheless they would show no warrants whereby to take none such, though there had been such here. I suppose if they might have come in peaceably they would have made another cause of their coming.

When all was done and they should depart, Harleston and other desired me that I should come and see mine old lady, and sue to my lord, and if anything were amiss it should be amended.

I said if I should sue for any remedy that I should sue further, and let the king and all the lords of this land to have knowledge what hath been done to us, if so were that the Duke would maintain that hath been done to us by his servants, if ye would give me leave.

I pray you send me word if ye will that I make any complaint to the Duke or the Duchess, for as it is told me they know not the plainness that hath been done in such things as hath been done in their names.

I should write much more to you but for lack of leisure.

I commanded my master Tom this day to have come again by me from Norwich when he had spoken with Richard Calle, but he came not; I would he were quit of his indictment so that he were quit of your service, for by my truth I hold the place the more ungracious that he is in for his disposition in divers things, the which ye shall be informed of hereafter.

The Trinity have you in keeping. Written the Friday next after Saint Thomas.

By your
MARGARET PASTON.

Friday, 12th of July, 1465.
5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXXXVII.—YOUNG JOHN ASKS FOR NEW STOCKINGS

To my mistress, Margaret Paston, be this delivered in haste at London.

AFTER all humble and most due recommendation, as lowly as I can, I beseech you of your blessing; please it you to weet that I have sent to my father to have an answer of such matters as I have sent to him for in haste, of which matters the greatest of substance is for the manor of Cotton, beseeching you to

remember him of the same matter that I may have an answer in the most hasty wise.

Also I pray you that mine aunt Poynings may be desired to send me an answer of such matters as she woteth of by him that shall bring me an answer of the matter of Cotton.

Also, mother, I beseech you that there may be purveyed some mean that I might have sent me home by the same messenger two pair of hose, one pair black and another pair of russet, which be ready made for me at the hosier's with the crooked back, next to the Black Friar's-gate within Ludgate; John Pampynge knoweth him well enough I suppose, and the black hose be paid for he will send me the russet unpaid for; I beseech you that this gear be not forgotten, for I have not an whole hose for to don; I trow they shall cost both pair 8s.

My brother,¹ and my sister Anne,² and all the garrison of Heylesdon fare well, blessed be God, and recommend them to you everych one.

I pray you visit the Rood of Northdoor and St. Saviour at Bermondsey,³ among while ye abide in London, and let my sister Margery⁴ go with you to pray to them that she may have a good husband ere she come home again: and now I pray you send us some tidings as ye were wont to command me; and the Holy Trinity have you in keeping; and my fair mistress of the Fleet. Written at Norwich, on Holy Rood day.

Your son and lowly servant,

JOHN PASTON, *the youngest.*

Norwich, Saturday,
14th of September, 1465.
5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXXXVIII.—VIOLENCE AND SACRILEGE

To my right worshipful husband, John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

RIGHT worshipful husband, I recommend me to you; please it you to weet that I was at Heylesdon upon Thursday last past, and saw the place there, and in good faith there will no creature

¹ Sir John Paston.

² Anne Paston, afterwards wife of W. Yelverton.

³ The Abbey of Saint Saviour at Bermondsey, in Surrey, was founded in 1081, 15th William the Conqueror, by Alwin Child of London; it was surrendered in 1539, 31 H. VIII., when it was pulled down, and a fair house built on the site by Sir Thomas Pope, knight.

⁴ Margery Paston; she afterwards married Richard Calle.

think how foully and horribly it is arrayed¹ but if they saw it; there cometh much people daily to wonder thereupon, both of Norwich and of other places, and they speak shamefully thereof; the Duke had by better than a thousand pound that it had never been done, and ye have the more good will of the people that it is so foully done; and they made your tenants of Heylesdon and Drayton, with other, to help to break down the walls of the place and the lodge both, God knoweth full evil against their wills, but that they durst none other wise do for fear; I have spoken with your tenants of Heylesdon and Drayton both, and put them in comfort as well as I can: the Duke's men ransacked the church, and bare away all the good that was left there, both of ours and of the tenants, and left not so much but that they stood upon the high altar and ransacked the images, and took away such as they might find, and put away the parson out of the church till they had done; and ransacked every man's house in the town five or six times; and the chief masters of robbing was the bailiff of Eye, the bailiff of Stradbroke, Thomas Slyford, and Porter; and Slyford was the chief robber of the church, and he hath most of the robbery next the bailiff of Eye; and as for lead, brass, pewter, iron, doors, gates, and other stuff of the house, men of Cossey and Cawston have it, and that they might not carry they have hewn asunder in the most despiteous wise. If it might be I would some men of worship might be sent from the king to see how it is both there and at the Lodge, ere than any snows come, that they may make report of the truth, else it shall not mowe be seen so plainly as it may now; and at the reverence of God speed your matters now, for it is too horrible a cost and trouble that we have now daily, and must have till it be otherwise; and your men dare not go about to gather up your livelihood, and we keep here daily more than thirty persons for savation of us and the place, for in very truth and the place had not been kept strong the Duke had come hither.

Arblaster thinketh verily that Hugh a Fenn may do much in your matters, and he thinketh he will do for you faithfully if ye will, &c.

At the reverence of God, if any worshipful and profitable mean may be taken in your matters, forsake it not in eschewing of our trouble and great costs and charges that we have, and may grow hereafter; it is thought here that if my Lord of Norfolk

¹ [In original *arrayed*, doubtlessly for *harried* or *herried*—damaged or destroyed.]

would take upon him for you, and that he may have a commission for to inquire of such riots and robberies as hath been done to you and other in this country, that then all the country will await upon him and serve your intent, for the people loveth and dreadeth him more than any other lord, except the king and my Lord of Warwick, &c.

God have you in his keeping, and send us good tidings from you. Written in haste, upon the Sunday Saint Simon and Jude's even.

By yours,

MARGARET PASTON.

Sunday, 27th of October, 1465.
5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXXXIX.—JOHN PASTON IN THE FLEET PRISON

There is no direction to this letter, but the line which precedes it is written in an ancient hand upon the back of it. The first imprisonment of John Paston was in consequence of a writ of trespass brought against him by William Jenney, Esq., serjeant-at-law, in Easter Term, 4 E. IV. 1464, when the issue being found for the plaintiff, a capias pro fine was awarded for the king; Paston absconded, and the exigent was awarded and directed to the sheriff of Suffolk, and he was called at four county courts; but before the fifth he surrendered himself and was committed to the Fleet. The second was in 1465, upon a vile suggestion that he was a bondsman of the king. He died in London the 26th of May, 1466, and was buried in the Priory of Bromholm, in Norfolk.

A letter to John Paston, Esq., from his wife, showing his imprisonment in the Fleet.

RIGHT worshipful husband I recommend me to you; please it you to weet that I received your letter that ye sent me by John Holme on Wednesday last past, and also I received another letter on Friday at night that ye sent me by Nicholas Newman's man, of the which letters I thank you, for I should else have thought that it had been worse with you than it hath been or shall be, by the grace of Almighty God, and yet I could not be merry since I had the last letter, till this day that the mayor sent to me, and sent me word that he had knowledge for very truth that ye were delivered out of the Fleet; and that Howard was committed to ward for divers great complaints that were made to the king of him; it was talked in Norwich and in divers other places in the country on Saturday last past that ye were committed to the Fleet, and in good faith, as I have heard say, the people was right sorry thereof, both of Norwich and in the country, ye are right much bound to thank God, and all those that love you, that ye have so great love of the people as ye

have; ye are much beholden to the mayor,¹ and to Gilbert,² and to divers others of the aldermen, for faithfully they owe you good will to their powers.

I have spoken with Sir Thomas Howes for such things as ye wrote to me for, and he promised me that he should labour it after your intent as fast as he could, and in good faith, as my brother and Playters can tell you, as by his saying to us he is and will be faithful to you; and as for William Worcester he hath been set so upon the hone,³ what by the parson and by others, as my brother and Playters shall tell you, that they hope he will do well enough; the parson said right well and plainly to him. The parson told me that he had spoken with Sir William Chamberlayn, and with his wife, and he thinketh that they will do well enough after your intent so that they be pleasantly entreated; and the parson told me that he wist well that Sir William Chamberlayn could do more ease in such matters as ye wrote of touching my Lord of Bedford than any man could do that liveth at this day; also he told me that he felt by them that they would owe you right good will, so that ye would owe them good will; the parson hopeth verily to make you accorded when he cometh to London.

Item, my brother and Playters were with Calthorpe to inquire of the matter that ye wrote to me of, what answer he gave them they shall tell you; I sent the parson of Heylesdon ⁴ to Gurney ⁵ to speak to him of the same matter, and he saith faithfully there was no such thing desired of him, and though it had been desired, he would neither have said nor done against you; he said he had ever found you loving and faithful to him, and so he said he would be to you to his power, and desiring me that I would not think him the contrary.

As for John Gros he is at Sloley, therefore he might not be spoken with.

I pray you that ye will send me word whether ye will that I shall remove from hence, for it beginneth to wax a cold abiding here. Sir Thomas Howes and John Russ shall make an end of all things after your intent, as much as they can do therein this week, and he proposeth to come forwards to you on the Monday next after St. Leonard's day.

¹ Thomas Ellis was mayor of Norwich in 1460, and again in 1465.

² John Gilbert had been mayor in 1459 and in 1464. He died in 1472.

³ This expression is taken from setting a razor, and means that he had been talked to not only in a smooth, but likewise in a sharp and severe manner.

⁴ Thomas Hert was instituted to the rectory of Heylesdon in 1448.

⁵ Thomas Gurney, of Norwich, Esq., died in 1471.

My brother and Playters should have been with you ere this time, but that they would abide till this day were past, because of the shire. I spoke to my brother William as ye bade me, and he told me, so God him help, that he hired two horses two days before that ye rode that he might have ridden forth with you; and because that ye spoke not to him to ride with you, he said that he wend ye would have had him with you.

Thomas Fastolf's mother was here on the next day after ye were ridden, to have spoken with you for her son, he (*and*) she prayeth you at the reverence of God that ye will be his good master, and to help him in his right, that he may have home his livelihood out of their hands that have it in his nonage; she saith that they would make him a year younger than he is, but she saith that he is more than twenty-one, and upon that she dare take an oath.

And the blessed Trinity have you in his keeping, and send you good speed in all your matters, and send ye victory of all your enemies. Written in haste, on Soulmas day.

By yours,

MARGARET PASTON.

Soulmas day, 2d of November,
1465. 5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXL.—HOSPITALITY

John Wymondham, Esq., the writer of this letter, married Margery, the daughter of Sir Robert Clifton, knight, of Denver, in Norfolk, and widow of Sir Edward Hastings, of Elsing, knight; he therefore calls her "my lady." He died in 1475. He purchased the manor and estate at Felbrigge of the trustees of Sir Simon Felbrigge, where he had resided; but once in his absence Sir John Felbrigge made a forcible entry, and dragging out his lady by the hair of her head (who had locked herself up in a chamber to keep possession), got into possession, and retained it till Wymondham obtained the king's order to Thomas Montgomery, Esq., high-sheriff of the county, to put him again into possession. The dispute was then settled with Sir John Felbrigge, and upon Wymondham's paying to him two hundred marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) he released all claims.

To my worshipful cousin, John Paston.

RIGHT worshipful cousin, I commend me to you; and forasmuch as there was a child dead at Astley's, and another like to be dead in the same place, what time that I rode out about my little livelihood, my lady and I both thought pity on my mistress your wife to see her abide there, and desired her to come to my poor house unto such time as ye should a be otherwise avised, which if it please you I am right well apayed.

Sythen I understand by my lady that ye desire to know whether that I should abide here still or not; as to that I have

none other place that I would abide at, and my lady saith how she is advised to end her life here; also she saith how ye desire to have a stable within my place; and as to that, a faith, Sir, I have none but that must needs serve for my wood; as for a chamber ye shall have one for your men all ready; and as touching a stable Sir John Sparham and I have gotten you one there (*where*) your horse stood the last time ye were in this town, and an house to lay in hay and straw, and cost you not but making of a rack and a manger, and more to your ease there than here; and if ye will that it be made ready for you, send word by the bringer of this letter. And, cousin, as touching to payment, I cannot say how ye shall be pleased with my poor fare, but after that ye are come home and are acquainted therewith, we shall so accord as shall be pleasure to us both; with the grace of God, which have (*you*) in his blessed governance, and send you your mother's blessing.

Written at Norwich, on Saint Martin's even.

Your poor cousin and friend,

J. WYMONDHAM.

And how that ever ye do, hold up your manship.

Norwich, 10th of November,
1465. 5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLI.—J. PASTON'S FRIENDSHIP FOR 100 MARKS

To my cousin, Paston, be this delivered in haste.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful cousin, I commend me unto you, desiring to hear of your welfare, the which the Almighty Jesu preserve to his pleasaunce, and to your own heart's desires; furthermore, and if it please your gentleness to be my trusty friend, as my full trust is in you, as for such matters as the bringer of this letter shall inform you, and be effectually my friend and bring it about, and by my truth I shall give you an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) for your labour; for in truth I am afraid that Robert Radcliff hath deceived me, for he laboured to me daily by my lord's commandment of Warwick, and brought with him Illingworth and other of my lord's counsel, and saw my evidences; and so we stood upon appointment, and I for to have had an answer sent to Felbrigge Hall, and if ne had been for defending of my lord's lordship, I might have had my money for my right ere I came out of London, as my man shall inform you; for in truth I must now make a shift, for

Wymondham hath sold his right, and rather than it should go that way too I had lever my lord had it two hundred marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) within the price that I granted it last, and therefore I beseech you to labour to my lord that I may have an answer. And these many towns¹ belongeth thereto, Felbrigge, Aylmerton, Runton, Colby, Banningham, Ingworth, Sturston, besides hamlets. No more to you at this time, but the Holy Trinity have you in his keeping. Written at Felbrigge, the Monday after Saint Agnes's day.

By your cousin,
JOHN FELBRIGGE.

Felbrigge, Monday,
27th of January, 1465.
5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLII.—NEWS OF THE DAY

Unto the right worshipful master, Sir John Paston, Knight, be this letter delivered.

RIGHT worshipful and my especial good master, I recommend me unto your good mastership, letting you weet that the bearer hereof told me that ye had great marvel that I send to you no word nor letter of answer of the letters that ye had sent to me to London; as for one letter ye sent to me by Richard Playters' man, and thereof I sent you an answer in a letter by a man of the Prior of Bromholm, and as for other letters there came no more to me but that one.

Item, Master Flemming looketh daily for his horse, and at every time that I meet with him he asketh of me when his horse should come, and when I heard any word from you; wherefore I pray you send me word in a letter how he shall be answered, and if the horse shall come let me know when, for and he had not trusted thereupon he would have purveyed him in another place, &c.

Item, John Oter is not yet paid, but as I suppose it shall not be long to till he have it, for he hath spoken to my master your father again therefore; and as for Gilmyn he hath not spoken to my master as yet, &c.

Item, I trust he will be your good father, for John Say hath told him plainly of his demeaning against you, and told him that he had the less favour for your sake, &c.

¹ I suppose this refers to manorial rights extending into these towns [or townships], &c.

Item, the Earl of Arundel's son¹ hath wedded the queen's sister.

Item, the Lord Lovel's son² hath wedded my Lady Fitzhugh's daughter, &c.

Item, Jenney desireth a treaty with my master, and spake to my master thereof himself in Westminster Hall.

Item, all fellows in the king's house fareth well, and would have you there. No more to you at this time, but the Holy Trinity have you (*in*) keeping. Written at London, the Monday next after Saint Valentine.

Your servant,
JOHN WYKES.

London, Monday,
17th of February, 1465. 5 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLIII.—SUMMONS TO FRAMLINGHAM

We here find that John Paston was one of the counsel to John Mowbray, the last Duke of Norfolk of that name; and that regular summonses were sent to those in this confidential station when any matters of importance arose on which their deliberations and advice became necessary; this summons appears to be on some very material business, which most probably required secrecy as the purport of it was not communicated, but deferred till he should be arrived at Framlingham.

To our right trusty and entirely well-beloved servant, John Paston, the elder.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

RIGHT trusty and entirely well-beloved servant, we greet you heartily well, and specially praying you that ye will be with us at Framlingham on Sunday next coming, that we may commune with you there, and have your sad (*serious*) advice in such matters as concerneth greatly to our weal, which shall be ministered unto you at your coming.

¹ Thomas Fitz Alan, Lord Maltravers, eldest son of William Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, married Margaret, second daughter of Richard Widville, Earl Rivers, and sister to Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV. He succeeded his father as Earl of Arundel in 1487, 3 H. VII., and died in 1524, 16 H. VIII.

² Francis Lovel, son and heir to John Lord Lovel, married Anne, daughter of Henry Lord Fitz Hugh. He very soon succeeded his father as Lord Lovel, and was afterwards created Viscount Lovel. This nobleman was lord chamberlain to Richard III., whom he attended at Bosworth Field, and was killed at the battle of Stoke in 1487, 2 H. VII. [He was the "Lovel our dog" of the rhyme—

"The cat, the rat, and Lovel our dog,
Rule all England under the hog."

Alluding to Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Richard III.'s cognizance of a white boar.¹

Praying you that ye fail not hereof, as our special trust is in you; and our Lord preserve you in his keeping.

Written at Framlingham, the 31st day of August.

NORFOLK.

Framlingham, 31st of August,
before 1466. 6 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLIV.—THE KING LAY AT CAMBRIDGE

*To my right worshipful husband, John Paston, be this delivered
in haste.*

PLEASETH you to weet, that John Welles and his brother told me this night that the king lay at Cambridge as yesternight, to Sandwich ward for there is great division betwixt the lords and the shipmen there that causeth him to go thither to see a remedy therefore.

I thank God that John Paston went not earlier forth, for I trust to God all shall be done ere he cometh; and it is told me that Sir John Howard is like to lose his head.

If it please you to send to the said Welles, he shall send you more tidings than I may write at this time.

God have you in his keeping.

Written in haste at Thetford, at 11 of the clock in the night the same day I departed fro you.

I thank Pampynge of his good will, and them that were cause of changing of my horse; for they did me a better turn than I weend they had done, and I shall acquit them another day and I may.

By your
MARGARET PASTON.

Thetford, before 1466.
6 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLV.—A GRATEFUL PROTÉGÉ

*To my reverend and most-betrusted master, John Paston, Esq.,
dwelling in the Inner Temple, be this delivered.*

RIGHT reverend and most betruſted maſter, I recommend me in the moſt lowly wiſe unto your good and proved maſterſhip, and deſiring many days to hear of your welfare, which I beſeech God increaſe unto his pleaſaunce and unto the proſperity and welfare of your perſon and of all yours. And I beſeech you of the good continuance of your maſterſhip at divers times before this writing ſhowed unto me; and, Sir, there is none man alive

that I trust more to than I do unto you, and I am your beadsman, and so shall remain by the grace of God all the days of mine life; and, Sir, I suppose I shall never see you no more, nor none of mine friends, which is to me the greatest lamentation that might come unto mine heart, for, Sir, by the grace of God I shall go to Rome, and into other holy places, to spend mine days of this present life in the service of God; for I had lever live in great tribulation in the service of God in this present life, than for to follow the wretchedness of this world.

And, Sir, of one thing I beseech specially your good mastership, that ye will show your good mastership unto my father in time of his need, and that ye will recommend me in the most lowly wise with all reverence unto his good fatherhood, beseeching him that he will give me every day, during the days of his life, his paternal blessing; and I have marvel san that I have written so many letters unto him before this time that I had never none letter again, which is to me the greatest lamentation that ever came to my heart; and now knowing that I shall never see him more, nor you, nor none other of mine friends, marvel ye not that sorrow is impreded in mine heart.

But, reverend master, mine singular trust remaineth now in your person, for, Sir, and it please you, I must needs write unto your good mastership, in the which my most trust remaineth; for, Sir, and it please you, as for mine inheritance and other things which should come to me after the death of my father, whose life God preserve to his long pleasaunce! knowing that I shall never come there, I had lever that by your good advice that ye would take it unto you, for I had lever that ye had it rather than any person in the world during my life, with all the profits thereof, and if that ye will make as good evidences for you in that part as ye can, and I shall seal them; and as to you seemeth best, and in the most secret wise, rule you in this matter.

And, Sir, I beseech you to recommend me in the most lowly wise to mine reverend master William Lumnor, saying him that I am and shall be his perpetual beadsman, and as ye think best ye may tell him of all these matters; and, Sir, I beseech you to recommend me with all reverence unto my mistress your wife, and to all other masters and friends there; and for that ye will thank the bringer of this letter which hath been in my great tribulation my good friend; and, Sir, when ye speak with my father recommend me unto him with all reverence, and say unto him I shall send him a letter in all haste possible.

And, Sir, as for this matter demean you as ye will, and I shall do your pleasaunce as much as in me is; and, reverend master, remit me some letter by the bringer hereof of all these matters, for he dwelleth with my lord, and he is right much betruſted, for I know well he will give attendance unto you for to have some letter from you; for, Sir, it ſhall not be long ere that I go to Rome by the grace of God; and as ſoon as I have a letter from you at this time I ſhall ſend you another again.

No more at this time, but the Holy Trinity have you in his bleſſed keeping. Written at Sarum, the Monday after Midſummer day. And let theſe matters be kept ſecret by your beſt advice.

By your poor Servant,
ROGER TAVERHAM.

Salisbury, Monday,
June, before 1466. 6 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLVI.—“I AM HEIR AND NONE OTHER”

To my right worſhipful maſter, John Paſton, Eſq., be this letter delivered.

RIGHT worſhipful maſter, I recommend me unto your maſterſhip, and I thank your maſterſhip that it pleaſed your maſterſhip to ſend me word again of my letter that I ſent you by the bringer hereof. Sir, as I am informed ye ſent me word how that my father was dead long time paſſed, and alſo ye deſired to know my title of right; Sir, I am very heir by the deceaſe of my father to a place called Keſwick, in Taverham, with all the appurtenances, and that cometh by inheritance and deſcent to me, for I am the elder and heir; and though my Lord Cromwell¹ hath taken Thomas Taverham, my younger brother, as ward for the ſame inheritance, that maketh no matter to me, inſomuch (as) I am elder brother; wherefore I beſeech you to ſend me a letter of attorney, made to you in my name, in the ſtrongeſt wiſe that ye can, for to enter into the ſame livelihood, and I ſhall aſſeal that, and then I ſhall do my ſervice and fealty to the ſaid Lord Cromwell in all things as by the tenure of the ſame livelihood of old time ought to be done; and herein I know well the king ſhall cauſe my Lord Cromwell to do me both law and right; and alſo my Lord Chancellor, with other lords divers ſhall do the ſame; and, Sir, I beſeech your maſterſhip to do and

¹ Humphry Bourchier Lord Cromwell, ſo created in 1461.

to take possession in the said place with the appurtenances in short time, for losing¹ of the rent this year passed.

And, Sir, as for the place of Attlebridge that my mother-in-law now dwelleth in, Sir, your mastership shall right not attempt there now in, for my Lord of Warwick² hath seen how the same place was given me by testament, by Sir Roger Dalling, after the decease of my father, which is ready to be showed; and thereupon my Lord of Warwick hath commanded certain gentlemen to enter in the same place, and your mastership had been moved therein ere this, but for cause that ye love well Lumnor,³ and that my mother-in-law is his sister; but I know well it will cost three hundred pounds but that she shall be dispossessed of that place in short time; and, master, how ye will be ruled in the said place of Keswick I beseech you to send me word, as my singular trust is in you, for and ye would not take possession in the said place, my Lord Wenlock⁴ would have that full fain, for all the country knoweth that while I live I am heir and none other, and therefore I beseech you in all haste send me word by the bringer hereof in haste, *quia mora trahit periculum*, and, Sir, I would come speak with you; I am sick and may not go; but tell the bringer hereof all your intent, for my life during I had lever that ye had that place for one penny than another man though he would give me much money, for your mastership showed to me in my young age, and God keep you, &c.

Your chaplain,

July, before 1466. 6 E. IV.

ROGER TAVERHAM.

LETTER CCXLVII.—INDISCRETION OF SIR JOHN'S COUSIN MARY

Be this delivered to Master John Paston.

I RECOMMEND me unto you as unknown; and as for the writing I send unto you, the cause why it was not endorsed was for the bearer thereof knew you well enough, and as for your cousin Mary she is no longer with us, as upon Saint Matthew's even she departed from me and went to Audrey Croxton; and she

¹ [In order not to lose.]

² Richard Nevile, Earl of Warwick.

³ William Lumnor, of Mannington, in Norfolk.

⁴ John Wenlock was created Baron Wenlock in 1461 by Edward IV., but he afterwards left the York party, and joined that of Lancaster; he was cleft down with a battle-axe by the Duke of Somerset for not coming up in time at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471, whereby that battle was lost.

told me that ye would pay for her board there; but one thing I let you know, she hath demeaned her full simply, both for your worship and also for her own; there is but few within our place but they know how it is with her, and all by her own business of her tongue. And I had known as much at the beginning as I have done since, I would not have dealt in the matter not for forty pounds, for I wis she is nothing so sad [*serious*] as I would she were. No more to you at this time, but the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping and send you your heart's ease; I pray you heartily I may speak with you.

B. D. M. S.

No exact date of the year can be affixed to this letter, which appears to have been written in September or October, before 1466. 6 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLVIII.—TREACLE POTS

To Mistress Margaret Paston, be this delivered.

PLEASE it you to weet that I send you by Barker, the bearer hereof, three treacle pots of Geane as my apothecary sweareth unto me, and moreover that they were never undone since they came from Geane, whereof ye shall take as many as pleaseth you, nevertheless my brother John sent to me for two, therefore I must beseech you that he may have at the least one; there is one pot that is marked under the bottom two times, with these letters M. P., which pot I have best trust unto, and next him to the wryghe (*q. twisted*) pot, and I mistrust most the pot that hath a krott (*q. a crack, or piece chipt off*) above on the top, lest that he hath been undone; and also the other two pots be printed with the merchant's mark two times on the covering, and that other pot is but once marked but with one print; notwithstanding I had like oath and promise for one as well as for all.

JOHN PASTON.

Between 1460 and 1470.
1 and 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCXLIX.—THE WIDOW ELIZABETH POYNINGS, NÉE
PASTON, ON HER WRONGS

I have given this letter to show the great desire which the relations and other connexions of a deceased man of property always expressed to get possession of his estates, in prejudice to the minor and widow, and of the steps they took to obtain it. This letter likewise makes us acquainted with the process the lady wished to pursue, through the means of Sir John Paston, to regain her property. Elizabeth Poynings, the writer of this letter, and the daughter of John Paston, married Robert Poynings, a younger son of Robert Lord Poynings, by whom she had her son Edward here mentioned. He was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and during his administration in 1494, 10 H. VII., those statutes called Poynings' Laws were passed, by which the power of the Irish parliament was restrained, and their Acts subjected to the revisal of the Privy Council of England. He died of a pestilential fever in 1522, 14 H. VIII., aged about sixty-two years. These, with other Acts enacting the dependency of Ireland on this kingdom, were repealed in 1785, 25 Geo. III.

To the worshipful Sir John Paston, Knight, be this delivered in haste.

WORSHIPFUL and with all mine heart entirely well-beloved nephew, I recommend me to you, desiring to hear of your prosperity and welfare, which I pray Almighty God maintain and increase to his pleasure and your heart's desire, thanking God of your amending and health. Furthermore certifying you that Sir Robert Fynes¹ hath done great hurt in the livelihood which pertained to my husband and me in the shire of Kent, wherein William Keene and other persons are enfeoffed, and greatly troubleth it, and receiveth the issues and profits of great part of them, and as of my said husband's livelihood as well in the same shire as in other shires.

Beside mine jointure my said husband, when he departed towards the field of St. Alban's, made and ordained his will that I should have the rule of all his livelihood, and of Edward his son and mine, and to take the issues and profits of the said livelihood to the finding of his and mine said son, to pay his debts, and to keep the right and title of the same livelihood, which I might not accordingly occupy for Sir Edward Poynings mine said husband's brother; and so, since my said husband's departing, I assigned that the said Sir Edward for certain years should have and take the revenues of the manors of Westwood,

¹ This was a knightly family, of great worth and worship, and a branch of it became Barons Dacre of Gillesland.

Eastwell, Loneland, Horsemonden, Totingdon, Eccles, Standon, and Combesden, parcel of the said livelihood, which are clearly yearly worth 76*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to the intent that the said Sir Edward should pay mine husband's debts, for he would not suffer me to be in rest without that he might have a rule in the livelihood; and after the said assignment made, the said Robert Fynes, contrary to truth, and without cause of right, interrupted me and the said Sir Edward, as well of and in the said manors as of other manors underwritten, whereupon the same Sir Edward sued unto the king's highness, and had the king's honourable letters under his signet directed to the said Sir Robert Fynes, the tenour whereof I send unto you herein enclosed; and as for residue of the livelihood of mine said husband's and mine within the same shire of Kent, wherein the said William Keene and other are enfeoffed, that is to say, the manors of Tyrlingham, Wolverton, Halton, Newington, Bartram, Rokesley and Northcray, with the appurtenances, I of them, by mine said husband's will, should have residue, and take the issues and profits of them, contrary to right and conscience taking away my right, and breaking my said husband's will, the said Robert Fynes hath done great waste and hurt there, and long time hath taken up the revenues and profits of the same, where thorough I have not my right, and the said will may not be performed.

Wherefore I heartily pray you that ye will labour unto the king's highness that it liketh him address his honourable letters to be directed to the said Robert Fynes, discharging him utterly of the menurance, occupation, and receipt of the revenues of the said manors of Tyrlingham and other, according to the tenour of the letters laboured by Sir Edward, for the manors assigned to him from the king's highness directed to the same Robert Fynes, or straiter if it may be, and that I and mine assigns may peaceably re-enjoy them; and if any person would attempt to do the contrary, that a commandment, if it please the king's highness, by him might be given to my Lord Chancellor to seal writings sufficient with his great seal in aiding and assisting me and mine assigns in the same.

And as for the manors of Easthall, Faulkham, Asslie, and Chelsfield, with the appurtenances in the said shire of Kent, whereof my husband at his departure was seised, and my son sithen, unto the time that the Earl of Kent,¹ without any

¹ Edmund Grey, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and Baron Hastings, was created Earl of Kent in 1465; he died in 1489.

inquisition or title of right for the king, by colour of the king's letters patent, entered into them, and him thereof put out, and now my Lord of Essex¹ occupieth them in like manner and form; if any remedy therein will be had I pray you attempt it.

Also, furthermore I heartily pray you that if any general pardon be granted, that I may have one for John Dane, my servant, whom the said Robert Fynes of great malice hath indicted of felony, and that ye secretly labour this, and send me an answer in writing in as goodly haste as ye may; as soon as it may please you to send me parcels of costs and expenses ye bear and pay for the said causes, I will truly content you it of the same, and over that reward you to your pleasure; by the grace of Jesu, who have you in his blessed keeping. Written in Southwark, the 15th day of December,

By your aunt,

ELIZABETH POYNINGS.

Southwark, 15th December,
between 1465 and 1471.
5 and 11 E. IV.

LETTER CCL.—OIL FOR SALADS

This letter, though without any name, was written by Sir John Paston to his brother John Paston, and the mention of oil for sallads shows us that at this time vegetables for the table were still cultivated here; for the common opinion has been that most of our fruits and garden productions were so entirely neglected during these civil wars, as to have been almost totally destroyed. [And oil was used in dressing sallads as now.]

To Master John Paston, or to my mistress his mother, be this letter delivered in haste.

BROTHER, I commend me to you (*then follows an order for making out an account, and receiving some rents, &c.*).

By Juddy I sent you a letter by Corby within four days before this; and therewith two pots of oil for sallads, which oil was good as might be when I delivered it, and shall be good at the receiving, if it be not mishandled nor miscarried.

Item, as for tidings, the Earl of Northumberland² is home into the north, and my Lord of Gloucester³ shall after as tomorrow, men say. Also this day Robert of Ratclyff wedded the

¹ Henry Viscount Bouchier, &c., uncle to King Edward IV., was created Earl of Essex in 1461; he was succeeded by his son Henry in 1483.

² John Nevile was created Earl of Northumberland in 1463, but resigned this title in 1469 to the family of Percy, the ancient possessors of it.

³ Richard Plantagenet, afterwards King Richard III.

Lady Dymock at my place in Fleet-street, and my lady and yours, Dame Elizabeth Bouchier,¹ is wedded to the Lord Howard's son and heir. Also Sir Thomas Walgrave is dead of the sickness that reigneth on Tuesday, now (*q. no*) cheer for you. Also my Lord Archbishop² was brought to the Tower on Saturday at night; and on Monday, at midnight, he was conveyed to a ship, and so into the sea, and as yet I cannot understand whither he is sent nor what is fallen of him; men say that he hath offended; but, as John Forter saith, some men say nay; but all his meny are disparbled, every man his way; and some that are great clerks and famous doctors of his go now again to Cambridge to school.

As for any other tidings I hear none. The Countess of Oxford³ is still in St. Martin's; I hear no word of her.

The queen had child, a daughter,⁴ but late at Windsor, thereof I trow ye had word. And as for me, I am in like case as I was; and as for my Lord Chamberlain⁵ he is not yet come to town, when he cometh then shall I weet what to do. Sir John of Parr is your friend and mine, and I gave him a fair arming sword within this three days. I heard somewhat by him of a back friend of yours; ye shall know more hereafter.

Written the last day of April.

30th of April, 1466.
6 E. IV.

¹ Thomas Howard, son of John Lord Howard, was created Earl of Surrey by Richard III., and Duke of Norfolk by Henry VIII. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tilney, Kt., and widow of Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Berners; she died about 1507. Their son Thomas, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was born about 1470.

² I suppose this means George Nevile, Archbishop of York, and brother to Richard Nevile, Earl of Warwick, who at this time was greatly discontented with the proceedings of the king, and perhaps had drawn his brother the archbishop into the commission of some act disagreeable to Edward.

³ Margaret, wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was daughter of Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, and sister of Richard Earl of Warwick. This lady suffered much, both from poverty and distress, during the imprisonment and exile of her husband.

⁴ Elizabeth, afterwards queen consort of Henry VII.; she was born in February, 1465.

⁵ William Lord Hastings.

LETTER CCLI.—A WIDOW'S ADVICE TO HER SON THE HEIR

This letter is endorsed in an ancient hand, as follows, "A very good Lrē moving Sir J. P. to be carefull for his wrytings and evidence and how much his ffather did esteme of them." The disputes concerning Sir John Fastolf's will being undetermined at John Paston's death, his widow was fearful lest, by taking the management of his affairs, she should bring both herself and her son into trouble; she therefore cautions him against interfering.

To my right worshipful master, Sir John Paston, Knight, be this letter delivered in haste.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; desiring you to send me word how that ye speed in your matters, for I think right long till I hear tidings from you; and in alwyse I advise you for to beware that ye keep wisely your writings that be of charge, that it come not in their hands that may hurt you hereafter; your father, whom God assoil in his trouble's season! set more by his writings and evidence than he did by any of his moveable goods: remember, that if they were had from you, ye could never get no more such as they be for your part, &c.

Item, I would ye should take heed that if any process come out against me, or against any of those that were indicted afore the coroner, that I might have knowledge thereof, and to purvey a remedy therefore.

Item, as for your father's will, I would ye should take right good counsel therein, as I am informed it may be proved though no man take no charge this twelvemonth; ye may have a letter of administration to such as ye will, and administer the goods, and take no charge; I advise you that ye in no wise take no charge thereof till ye know more than ye do yet, for ye may verily know by that your uncle William said to you and to me, that they will lay the charge upon you and me for more things than is expressed in your father's will, the which should be too great for you or me to bear, but as for me I will not be too hasty to take it upon me I assure you; and at the reverence of God speed your matters so this term that we may be in rest hereafter, and let not for no labour for the season, and remember the great cost and charge that we have had hithertoward, and think verily it may not long endure. Ye know what ye left when ye were last at home, and weet it verily there is no more in this country to bear out no charge with. I advise you to inquire wisely if ye can get any more there as ye be, for else by my faith I fear else it will not be well with us; and send me word in haste how ye do, and whether ye have your last deeds that ye failed

[*wanted*], for plainly they are not in this country. It is told me in counsel that Richard Calle hath nigher conquered your uncle William with fair promise touching his livelihood and other things, the which should prevail him greatly as he saith; beware of him and of his fellow by mine advice. God send you good speed in all your matters. Written at Caister, the morrow next after Simon and Jude, whereas I would not be at this time but for your sake, so might I choose.

By your mother,

MARGARET PASTON.

Caister, Wednesday,
29th of October, 1466. 6 E. IV.

LETTER CCLII.—UNWORTHY WITNESSES

On the back of this letter in an ancient hand is written, "Testes idonei ad negandū veritatem, ut patet infra." The disposal of Sir John Fastolf's large property occasioned many long and expensive contests, some claiming by heirship, some by gift, and others by different titles under his will. The present dispute seems to have been relative to the estate intended for the foundation of his college at Caister. The account of the characters of those who were going to London to be examined on this occasion is curious. This letter has neither subscription nor date, but by the contents it appears to have been written to Sir John Paston by his brother, and not till after the death of their father; it could not be written, therefore, before 1466.

John Paston to Sir John Paston, Knight.

SIR, it is so that this Saturday John Russe sent me word by Robert Butler, that William Yelverton hath been this three days in Yarmouth for to get new witnesses up to London, and it is thought by the said John Russe and Robert Butler, their witnessing is for to prove that it was Sir John Fastolf's will that there should be amortised 300 marks (200*l.*) by year to the college; and also that such estate as my father took here at Caister, at Lammas next before that Sir John Fastolf died, was delivered to my father to the intent for to perform the said will.

Bartholomew Ellis, John Appleby and John Clerk are the witnesses: and as for Bartholomew Ellis he is outlawed; and also men say in Yarmouth that he is bawd betwixt a clerk of Yarmouth and his own wife. And as for John Appleby he is half frentyk and so taken in the town, notwithstanding he is an attorney, as Bartholomew Ellis is, in the bailiff's court of Yarmouth; and as for John Clerk of Gorleston, he is outlawed at Sir John Fastolf's suit, and at divers other men's, notwithstanding he is thorough with Sir Thomas for Sir John Fastolf, for this cause that the said clerk was one of Sir Thomas Howys's

last witnesses before this. I trow John Loer shall be another witness. As for Bartholomew Ellis and John Appleby, they lie this night at Blighborough onward on their way to London ward; make good watch on them.

I pray you send us some good tidings.

Written the Saturday late at night next after Candlemas-day. I pray you remember John Grey and John Burgess; we have home the most part of your barley save from Winterton, and that I trust to have the next week, or else we will strait (*q. distrain*) for it by the grace of God, whom I beseech make you good.

I think their coming up is for to disprove your witnesses that ye had into the Chancery.

JOHN PASTON.

February, after 1466.
6 E. IV.

LETTER CCLIII.—OXFORD *v.* CAMBRIDGE

To my right worshipful mistress, Margaret Paston, widow.

RIGHT worshipful mistress, after due recommendation, please your good mistress-ship to weet that I communed late with your entirely well-beloved son, Sir John Paston, if the foundation of my master Fastolf's college might be at Cambridge in case it shall not be at Caister, neither at St. Benet's, because that university lieth near the country of Norfolk and Suffolk; for albeit my Lord of Winchester is disposed to found a college in Oxford for my said master to be prayed for, yet with much less cost he might make some other memorial also in Cambridge, and it were of two clerks and three or four scholars, founded at least with the value of good benefices and rich parsonages that might be purchased the advowsons with much less goods than lordships or manors may; and I found your son well disposed to move and excite my said lord. Also now the Christmas week next before the feast at London, my Lord Winchester called me to him in presence of Sir John, and desired him effectually to be my good willer; and master would have no words rehearsed on my behalf, and he said, full well, would Jesu, mistress, that my good master that was some time your husband in my said master Fastolf's life days, as he showed to me there could have found in his heart to have trusted and loved me as my master Fastolf did, and that he would not have given credence to the maliciously contrived tales that Friar Brackley, W. Barker and others

imagined untruly, saving your reverence, of me. And now ye may openly understand the sooth, and your son Sir John also; and yet for all that, I put never my master Fastolf's livelihood in trouble, for all the unkindness and covetousness that was showed me, as I have declared to the bearer hereof, that I know ye trust well, to whom in this ye may give credence at this time.

God amend J. Russe, I would he had been at Ireland for one day's sake.

Your

WILLIAM WORCESTER.

And I thank you heartily for my poor woman, she should come to you at your commandment late or rathe, but for jealousy and misdeeming of people that have me in great await (*that mean to do me mischief*); and ye know well, mistress, better is a friend unknown than known; the world is so misdeeming and ready to make division and debate; that cometh of an envious disposition. And I am right glad that Caister is and shall be at your commandment, and yours in especial, a rich jewel it is at need for all the country in time of war; and my master Fastolf would rather he had never builded it than it should be in the governance of any sovereign that will oppress the country. And I find the religious of St. Benet's full unkindly took away a chamber the elder abbot had put me in possession for my solace, when I might come thither and desport me, and took that chamber to master John Smyth, that Sir Thomas Howys said to me was none wholesome counsellor in the reformation of the last testament made, but two executors to have the rule alone; I would he had never meddled of it, that counsel made much trouble; I pray you keep this letter close to yourself, as I trust you and Sir James, and also in R. Toly, that I understand him close and just.

I had no time to speak within now late, when I was but one day at Norwich. W. Barker slandered me in certain matters of good to the sum of 500 marks (333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) that Reynold Harneys should keep and take one half; would Jesus Barker had said true, it might have done me much good; and, mistress, as I dare desire you, I pray you recommend me to my best mistress your mother Agnes, for she favoured me and did me great charity, to be the better disposed to her son master John. And by my soul it made me the heartier to save the livelihood from trouble or from claims, as I report me to all the world,

I put never manor nor livelihood of my master Fastolf's in trouble, nor entitled no creature to no place, and ye may speak to her hereof when ye be alone.

After 1466, 6 E. IV.

LETTER CCLIV.—A YOUNG LADY'S JOINTURE

To my right worshipful and good master, Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, after due recommendation, please it you to understand the cause of my writing is for a marriage for my mistress Margery your sister; for my nephew John Straunge would make her sure of forty pounds jointure, and two hundred marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) by year of inheritance; and if ye and your friends will agree hereto, I trust to God it shall take a conclusion to the pleasure of God and worship to both parties.

Moreover, and it pleaseth you to weet, I am sore troubled with Bedston, as well by the way of attachments out of the Chancery as otherwise; I must beseech you of your good mastership and help in secret manner, as Sir Thomas Lynes the bringer of this shall inform you. I shall be at London in the beginning of this term by the grace of God, which preserve you. Written at Norwich, in haste, the Monday after Twelfth-day.

By your
J. STRANGE.

Norwich, January,
between 1466 and 1469.
6 and 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLV.—THE KING'S DOINGS

To Mistress Margaret Paston be this delivered.

RIGHT worshipful mother, I commend me to you and beseech you of your blessing and God's; thank you for your tenderness and help both to me, my brother, and servants. (*Then follows an account of money, debts, &c., a dispute with his uncle William, and a desire to defer his sister Margery's marriage with Richard Calle till Christmas, &c.*)

The king is come to London, and there came with him, and rode again (*and rode to meet*) him the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Suffolk,¹ the Earl of Arundel,² the Earl of Northumber-

¹ John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk; he married Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV.

² William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, married Joan, daughter of Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury.

land,¹ the Earl of Essex; ² the Lords Harry and John of Buckingham,³ the Lord Dacre,⁴ the Lord Chamberlain,⁵ the Lord Montjoy⁶ and many other knights and esquires; the mayor of London, twenty-two aldermen in scarlet, and of the craftsmen of the town to the number of two hundred all in blue.

The king came thorough Cheap, though it were out of his way, because (*if he had not*) he would not be seen; and he was accompanied in all people with one thousand horse, some harnessed and some not.

My Lord Archbishop⁷ came with him from York, and is at the Moor,⁸ and my Lord of Oxford⁹ rode to have met the king, and he is with my Lord Archbishop at the Moor; and came not to town with the king. Some say that they were yesterday three miles to the king wards from the Moor; and that the king sent them a messenger that they should come when that he sent for them. I wot not what to suppose therein.

The king himself hath good language of the Lords of Clarence, of Warwick, and of my Lords of York and of Oxford, saying, they be his best friends; but his household men have other language, so what shall hastily fall I cannot say. My Lord of Norfolk¹⁰ shall be here this night. I shall send you more when I know more.

Item, if Ebesham¹¹ come not home with my uncle William, that then ye send me the two French books, that he should have written, that he may write them here.

JOHN PASTON, *Knight*.

LETTER CCLVI.—MARGARET PASTON WOULD MARRY ANNE,
HER DAUGHTER

To John Paston, the younger, be this delivered in haste.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet that since ye departed my cousin Calthorpe sent me a

¹ John Nevile, Earl of Northumberland from 1463 to 1469.

² Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex; he married Cecily, aunt to Edward IV.

³ These two lords were of the family of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

⁴ Richard Fynes, Lord Dacre.

⁵ William Lord Hastings.

⁶ Walter Blount, created Lord Montjoy in 1465.

⁷ George Nevile, Archbishop of York.

⁸ The Moor, a seat of the archbishop's in Hertfordshire.

⁹ John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

¹⁰ John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

¹¹ Ebesham was a transcriber of books, an employment much patronised before the invention of printing.

letter complaining in his writing that forasmuch as he cannot be paid of his tenants as he hath been before this time, he proposeth to lessen his household, and to live the straitlier, wherefore he desireth me to purvey for your sister Anne; he saith she waxeth high (*grows tall*), and it were time to purvey her a marriage; I marvel what causeth him to write so now, either she hath displeased him, or else he hath taken her with default; therefore I pray you commune with my cousin Clere at London, and weet how he is disposed to her ward, and send me word, for I shall be fain to send for her, and with me she shall but lose her time, and without she will be the better occupied she shall often times move me and put me in great inquietness; remember what labour I had with your sister, therefore do your part to help her forth, that may be to your worship and mine.

Item, remember the bill that I spake to you of to get of your brother of such money as he hath received of me since your father's decease; see your uncle Maultby if ye may, and send me some tidings as soon as ye may; God keep you. Written the Friday next before Saint Thomas of Canterbury, in haste (*29th of December*).

By your mother,
MARGARET PASTON.

Friday, December,
between 1466 and 1470.
6 and 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCLVII.—KEEPING A MOTHER'S YEAR-DAY OR OBIT

I have printed this letter as showing not only the friendly and just disposition of the writer, evident from the advice which he gives Sir John Paston, but to show the duty and respect of children then continued annually to the memory of their deceased parents. The year-day or anniversary of any person's death was called the Obit; and to observe such day with prayers and alms, or other commemoration, was called keeping the Obit. We find that Hugh Fenne strictly fulfilled this observance of filial duty to his deceased mother.

To the right worshipful Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you; like you weet a distress was taken in Caister, by Thomas Peacock, I trow your servant, a busy man called, of a full true soul, John Hadynet of Heringsby, a poor man, his plough hath lain ever since he saith; I understand it is for Catts' land. I sent my clerk to my mistress your mother, and the said John with him therefore; and my mistress would him come again another day, for Peacock was not then at home; so he did, and cannot have it as he saith, but that ye would I should speak with you at Caister thereof and of

other matters he told me this day; and because of my mother's year-day holden this day, God have her soul, and to-morrow shall be a good day, I would by God's grace dispose me to his mercy against Thursday, as I have used, therefore I pray you pardon my coming; in the week after Easter, I intend to see you and my said mistress certainly; it is long since I saw her meseemeth, and if ye be not then at Caister I pray you send me word that I may come sooner to you to commune with you in this matter, and in all other that ye will, and so depart to London from thence, and therefore I will abide with you a good while.

Sir, as to Catts, ye be remembered what I said to you at London at two times, I am the same man; I have since I came gotten the evidences into my hands, and I am ready to show them what learned man here that ye will assign, the matter is clear to my thinking. Titteshale that sold it to Sir John Fastolf might as well have sold him your land or mine; and if the sale be lawful, I shall leave my hands at the first, as I said at London, the distress to be kept for that I wiss it need not, and it was unlawfully taken; like it you to do deliver the poor man his goods again, I am ready to answer you for old and new as right will; I shall break no day to be assigned for to leave all other things.

By the Blessed Lady I believe that ye will dispose you well, and so I pray God ye do, and have you in his blessed governance. Written at the head town of Norfolk, this Tuesday.

Your own

HUGH at FENNE

Norwich, Tuesday,
March or April, between 1467
and 1469. 7 and 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLVIII.—WEDDING OF MARGARET PLANTAGENET AND CHARLES THE BOLD

We have in this letter a most curious and authentic account of the marriage of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with Margaret, daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and sister of Edward IV., and of the subsequent diversions exhibited at Bruges in honour of it, written by John Paston, an eye-witness, who, with his brother Sir John Paston, Knight, attended in the retinue of a princess. The description here given affords us a high idea of the splendour of the court of the duke, and of the politeness of the courtiers.

*To my right reverend and worshipful mother, Margaret Paston,
dwelling at Caister, be this delivered in haste.*

RIGHT reverend and worshipful mother, I recommend me unto you as humbly as I can think, desiring most heartily to hear of

your welfare and heart's ease, which I pray God send you as hastily as any heart can think.

Please it you to weet, that at the making of this bill, my brother, and I, and all our fellowship, were in good heele, blessed be God.

As for the guiding here in this country, it is as worshipful as all the world can devise, and there were never Englishmen had so good cheer out of England that ever I heard of.

As for tidings here, but if it be of the feast, I can none send you; saving, that my Lady Margaret¹ was married on Sunday last past at a town that is called The Dame,² three miles out of Bruges, at five of the clock in the morning; and she was brought the same day to Bruges to her dinner; and there she was received as worshipfully as all the world could desire; as with procession with ladies and lords, best beseen of any people that ever I saw or heard of. Many pageants were played in her way in Bruges to her welcoming, the best that ever I saw; and the same day my Lord, the Bastard,³ took upon him to answer twenty-four knights and gentlemen within eight days at justs of peace; and when that they were answered, they twenty-four and himself should turney with other twenty-five the next day after, which is on Monday next coming; and they that have justed with him into this day have been as richly beseen, and himself also, as cloth of gold, and silk, and silver, and goldsmith's work, might make them; for of such gear, and gold, and pearl, and stones, they of the Duke's court, neither gentlemen, nor gentlewomen, they want none; for without that they have it by wishes, by my truth I heard never of so great plenty as here is.

This day my Lord Scales⁴ justed with a lord of this country, but not with the Bastard; for they made (a) promise at London,

¹ Margaret Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV., according to this account, was married on Sunday the 3rd of July, 1468, 8 E. IV.

² [Damme.]

³ Anthony Count de la Roche, called the Bastard of Burgundy, was a natural son of Duke Philip the Good, by Johanna of Prulles, famous for his wit, courage, and polite accomplishments. He was born in 1421, and died in 1504.

⁴ Anthony Widville, or Woodville, Lord Scales, &c., and afterwards Earl Rivers, son of Sir Richard Widville, by Jaqueline of Luxemburgh, Duchess Dowager of Bedford, and brother of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV., was born about 1441, and became the most distinguished warrior, statesman, and most learned gentleman of his time. In the 7 Edward IV. he challenged and vanquished the Bastard of Burgundy in a grand and solemn just in Smithfield; at which time the promise mentioned in this letter was made. This accomplished nobleman was beheaded at Pomfret, in June, 1483, by the command of the Protector, Richard Duke of Gloucester.

that none of them both should never deal with other in arms; but the Bastard was one of the lords that brought the Lord Scales into the field; and of misfortune a horse struck my Lord Bastard on the leg, and hath hurt him so sore that I can think he shall be of no power to accomplish up his arms; and that is great pity, for by my truth I trow God made never a more worshipful knight.

And as for the Duke's court, as of lords, ladies, and gentlewomen, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, I heard never of none like to it, save King Arthur's court. And by my troth, I have no wit nor remembrance to write to you half the worship that is here; but what lacketh, as it cometh to mind I shall tell you when I come home, which I trust to God shall not be long tofore. We depart out of Bruges homeward on Tuesday next coming, and all folk that came with my Lady of Burgoyn out of England, except such as shall abide here still with her, which I wot well shall be but few.

We depart the sooner, for the Duke¹ hath word that the French king² is purposed to make war upon him hastily, and that he is within four or five days' journey of Bruges, and the Duke rideth, on Tuesday next coming, forward to meet with him; God give him good speed and all his; for by my troth they are the goodliest fellowship that ever I came amongst, and best can behave them, and most like gentlemen.

Other tidings have we none here, but that the Duke of Somerset³ and all his bands departed well beseen out of Bruges a day before that my lady the Duchess came thither, and they say here that he is to Queen Margaret that was, and shall no more come here again, nor be holpen by the Duke.

No more, but I beseech you of your blessing as lowly as I can, which I beseech you forget not to give me every day once; and, mother, I beseech you that ye will be good mistress to my little man, and to see that he go to school.

I sent my cousin Daubeney five shillings by Calle's man for to buy for him such gear as he needeth: and, mother, I pray you

¹ Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was born in 1433, and was slain in battle near Nancy, in Lorraine, in 1477.

² Charles VII. It is worthy of remark how cautious the writers of these times were not to give the title of King of France to the ruler of that kingdom, but to style him the French King. In this place the word "Kyng" (intending to go on with, of France) was written without consideration, and then, on observing it, immediately crossed out, and "Frenshe Kyng" put in its place.

³ Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, an adherent to Henry VI. and his queen Margaret, commanded at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471; which being lost, he fled to sanctuary, whence he was taken and beheaded.

this bill may recommend me to my sisters both, and to the master, my cousin Daubeney, Sir James, Sir John Style, and to pray him to be good master to little Jack,¹ and to learn him well; and I pray you that this bill may recommend me to all your folks, and to my well-willers; and I pray God send you your heart's desire.

Written at Bruges the Friday next after St. Thomas.²

Your son and humble servant,

J. PASTON, *the younger*.

Bruges, Friday,

8th of July, 1468. 8 E. IV.

LETTER CCLIX.—“THIS TROUBLESOME WORLD”

To Sir John Paston, Knight, be this delivered in haste.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet that Blickling of Heylesdon came from London this week, and he is right merry, and maketh his boast that within this fortnight at Heylesdon should be both new lords and new officers; and also this day was brought me word from Caister, that Rysing of Fretton should have heard said in divers places there, as he was in Suffolk, that Fastolf of Conghawe maketh all the strength that he may, and proposeth him to assault Caister, and to enter there if he may, insomuch that it is said that he hath a five score men ready, and sendeth daily spies to understand what fellowship keep the place; by whose power, or favour, or supportation, that he will do this I know not, but ye wot well that I have been affrayed there before this time, when that I had other comfort than I have now; and I cannot well guide nor rule soldiers, and also they set not by a woman as they should set by a man; therefore I would ye should send home your brothers or else Daubeney to have a rule, and to take in such men as were necessary for the safeguard of the place, for if I were there, without I had the more sadder or worshipful persons about me, and there come a meny of knaves and prevailed in their intent, it should be to me but a villainy. And I have been about my livelihood to set a rule therein, as I have

¹ This little John, whose school education J. Paston seems so anxious about, must have been born before 1464, and most probably died under age, if he was his son, as Sir William Paston, knight, who, as some pedigrees state, was born in 1464, stands in the pedigree as heir to his father; but I rather think that J. Paston had not been married at this time, and that this “lytyll man” was not his son.

² This must mean either the 3rd or 7th day of July, the one being the translation of St. Thomas the Apostle, the other of St. Thomas à Becket. I believe it means the latter.

written to you, which is not yet all performed after mine desire, and I would not go to Caister till I had done; I will no more days make thereabout if I may, therefore in any wise send somebody home to keep the place, and when that I have done and performed that I have begun, I shall purpose me thither-ward if I should do there any good, and else I had lever be thence.

I have sent to Nicholas and such as keep the place, that they should take in some fellows to assist and strength them till ye send home some other word, or some other man to govern them that be therein, &c.

I marvel greatly that ye send me no word how that ye do, for your elmyse (*enemies*) begin to wax right bold, and that putteth your friends both in great fear and doubt, therefore purvey that they may have some comfort that they be no more discouraged, for if we lose our friends it shall (*be*) hard in this troublesome world to get them again.

The blessed Trinity speed you in your matters, and send you the victory of your elmyse, to your heart's ease and their confusion.

Written at Norwich, the Saturday next before Relic Sunday, in haste.

I pray you remember well the matters that I wrote to you for in the letter that ye had by James Gresham's man, and send me an answer thereof by the next man that cometh, &c.

By your mother,

MARGARET PASTON.

Norwich, Saturday,
9th of July, 1468. 8 E. IV.

LETTER CCLX.—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK WOULD PURCHASE CAISTER

On the back of this letter is the following memorandum: "Sir T. Howys agreith to sell the mannor of Caister to the Duke of Norff. and movith thereto my Lord Cardenall." It was in consequence of this agreement with Sir Thomas Howys, one of the executors of Sir John Fastolf, that the Duke of Norfolk, I suppose, claimed the manor and castle of Caister, and in pursuit of that claim undertook to besiege it in the manner explained in the following letters. What Sir Thomas Howys says of J. Paston must be believed with caution, as they had disagreed concerning the executorship of Sir John Fastolf's will.

*To my most honourable Lord Cardinal¹ and Archbishop of
Canterbury.*

Most reverend and my right good lord, I recommend me to your gracious lordship in my most humble wise; please your

¹ Thomas Bouchier, Bishop of Ely, was translated to Canterbury in 1454. He died an old man in 1486.

lordship to weet that my Lord (*of*) Norfolk's counsel hath now late moved Sir William Yelverton, knight, and me, to be proffered for to purchase the manor of Caister and certain other lordships that were my master Fastolf's, whom God pardon! out excepted the manor of Gunton that your lordship desireth to purchase, and other certain manors that my master Fastolf's friends have desired to be proffered; and because the pretens bargain that John Paston in his lifetime surmitted, by colour of which he intended to have all my master Fastolf's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk for nought, saving the high reverence of your estate, was not just nor true; and because that I, with other of my master Fastolf's executors, may have whereof to dispose in charityful deeds to do for his soul, I have condescended the rather that my said Lord of Norfolk shall be proffered to the purchase of the said manor of Caister and other manors that may be spared to the increase of his livelihood in this land, and these covenants to be engrossed up within short time as by All Halowaunce in case your lordship be agreed and pleased withall, whereupon I would beseech your noble lordship to let me weet your good pleasure and advice in this behalf.

And because my said Lord Norfolk is so near of blood to your highness knitted, that moved me to be the more willing to condescend to the foresaid purchase, and so trusting your lordship would be right well pleased withall. Written at Norwich the 10th day of October, in the eighth year of the reign of Edward IV.

Your poor chaplain,
THOMAS HOWYS.

Norwich, Monday,
10th of October, 1468. 8 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXI.—CAISTER MUST BE DEFENDED

To my right well-beloved brother, John Paston, Esq., being at Caister, or to John Daubeney there, be this letter delivered.

RIGHT well-beloved brother, I commend me to you; letting you weet that I have waged, for to help you and Daubeney to keep the place at Caister, four well assured and true men to do all manner of thing what that they be desired to do in safeguard or inforcing of the said place; and moreover they be proved men, and cunning in the war and in feats of arms, and they can well shoot both guns and cross-bows, and amend and string

them, and devise bulwarks, or any things that should be a strength to the place, and they will as need is keep watch and ward, they be sad (*serious*) and well-advised men, saving one of them, which is bald, and called William Peny, which is as good a man as goeth on the earth saving a little, he will, as I understand, be a little copschotyn ¹ (*high-crested*), but yet he is no brawler but full of courtesy, much upon James Halman; the other three be named Peryn Sale, John Chapman, Robert Jack's Son (*Jackson*), saving that as yet they have none harness come, but when it cometh it shall be sent to you, and in the mean while I pray you and Daubeney to purvey them some.

Also a couple of beds they must needs have, which I pray you by the help of my mother to purvey for them till that I come home to you; ye shall find them gentlemanly comfortable fellows, and that they will and dare abide by their tackling, and if ye understand that any assault should be towards; I send you these men, because that men of the country there about you should be frayed for fear of loss of their goods; wherefore if there were any such thing towards, I would ye took of men of the country but few, and that they were well assured men, for else they might discourage all the remanent.

And as for any writing from the king, he hath promised that there shall come none, and if there do his unwarys, your answer may be this how the king hath said, and so to delay them till I may have word, and I shall soon purvey a remedy.

I understand that ye have been with my Lord of Norfolk now of late, what ye have done I wot not; we see that he shall be here again this day. Moreover I trow John Alford shall not long abide with my lord; I shall send you tidings of other things in haste, with the grace of God, who, &c. Written on Wednesday next before St. Martin.

JOHN PASTON.

I fear that Daubeney is not all there best stored to continue household long; let him send me word in haste, and I will relieve him to my power, and ere long too I hope to be with you.

Roger Ree is sheriff of Norfolk, and he shall be good enough. The escheator I am not yet ascertained of.

Also, that these men be at the beginning entreated as courteously as ye can.

Also, I pray you to send me my flower by the next messenger that cometh.

¹ [*Copschotyn* is *cup-shotten*, apt to get a little drunk.]

Also, as for my Lord Fitzwalter's obligation I know none such in mine adward as yet.

Also, the obligation of the Bishop of Norwich's obligation, I never saw it that I remember, wherefore I would and pray my mother to look it up.

Also, as for the Bible that the master hath, I wend the utmost price had not past five marks (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) and so I trow he will give it, weet I pray you.

Also, as for Sir William Barber and Sir William Falgate, I would, if they can purvey for themselves, full fain be discharged of them.

London, Wednesday,
9th November, 1468. 8 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXII.—THE QUEEN'S CHAPLAIN TO GO TO CAISTER

At a time when his keeping possession of Caister was doubtful, it was a stroke of policy in Sir John Paston to gain the goodwill of the queen by presenting her chaplain to the free chapel at Caister, though his intention had been to have united it to the mastership of his college there, and this he does not now despair of accomplishing, as it was probable that the queen's chaplain would soon have such preferment as would induce him to resign this. The difference of opinion between the parson who was to receive the money, and him who was to pay it, is a curious anecdote, and the cautious determination of Sir John likewise is worthy observation, that this priest "must have it as it was hadde befor." The following entry is taken from the institution books of the Bishop of Norwich:—

"Cantaria in Cayster-hall.

Lib. xi. p. 170. 21 Mar. 1468. Mr. Iohēs Yetton S. T. P. ad col. Epī pr. laps."

By which it appears that Sir John Paston's presentation either was not allowed, or was not made out in time, and that the bishop presented by a lapse.

*To my well-beloved brother, John Paston, or to John Daubeney,
in his absence.*

RIGHT worshipful and well-beloved brother, I commend me to you, letting you weet that Sir Thomas Howes had a free chapel in Caister whereof the gift belongeth to me, which chapel as I understand should be in the old time, ere the place at Caister were built, within the moat, wherefore I am but the better pleased; and so it is now that at the special request of the queen and other especial good lords of mine, I have given it to the bearer hereof called Master John Yotton, a chaplain of the queen's; nevertheless in time past I purposed that the master of the college should have had it, and so ere long to I hope he shall, wherefore I think he must take possession, and that is the cause of his coming; wherefore I pray you make him good

cheer; he is informed that it should be worth an hundred shillings by year, which I believe not; I think it dear enough (*at*) forty shillings by year; he must have it as it was had before.

Item, this day I understand that there be come letters from my mother, and you, and Daubeney, wherein I shall send you answer when I have seen them.

No more at this time, for within this three days I shall let you have knowledge of other matters.

Written the 17th day of March.

Whither he needeth induction, or institution, or none, I wot not; if it need, brother, ye may seal any such thing as well as I. Master Stephen can tell all such things.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Friday,
17th of March, 1468. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXIII.—OF MONEY AND A HORSE

To the bailiff of Mautby.

MASTER bailiff I recommend me unto you; praying you that ye will send me by William Cocks, bearer hereof, four nobles in gold, put into the same box that this bill is in as though it were evidence, for I have told the messenger that he should bring me nothing but evidence, for he is in a manner departing out of my service, wherefore I would not he knew so much of my counsel, and as for the remanent I would ye should keep it till I come myself.

And if Bayard be unsold, I pray you let him be made fat against the king come into the country, whatsoever I pay for the keeping of him, and I shall weet how good a courser I shall be myself at my coming into the country, by the grace of God, who have you in keeping. Written at Heveningham.

By your
WILLIAM PASTON.

Heveningham, Suffolk,
Perhaps 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXIV.—PAYMENT OF COPYISTS

Before the invention of printing, the number of writers and copiers was very great; most monasteries and religious houses having an office called a scriptorium, wherein several writers were almost constantly employed in copying books on various subjects, missals and books of psalms, &c., richly and elegantly adorned with illuminations, &c. Men of fortune and

learning likewise occasionally employed copiers to transcribe books for their libraries. W. Ebesham was one of those who pursued this employment and wrote a good hand; he complains of poverty, and petitions to have his account discharged. One of the articles in the bill is dated 30th of October, 1468, 8 E. IV.: what follows, therefore, was done after that day; so that perhaps the bill was not delivered, nor this letter written, before the next year, 1469.

To my most worshipful master, Sir John Paston, Knight.

My most worshipful and most special master, with all my service most lowly I recommend (*me*) unto your good mastership, beseeching you most tenderly to see me somewhat rewarded for my labour in the great book which I wrote unto your said good mastership; I have oftentimes written to Pampyng, according to your desire, to inform you how I have laboured in writings for you, and I see well he spake not to your mastership of it; and God knoweth I lie in sanctuary at great costs and amongst right unreasonable askers.

I moved this matter to Sir Thomas (*Lewis*) lately, and he told me he would move your mastership therein, which Sir Thomas desired me to remember well what I have had in money at sundry times of him.

(Then comes the account, as stated more at large in the following bill.)

And in especial I beseech you to send me for alms one of your old gowns, which will countervail much of the premises I wot well; and I shall be yours while I live, and at your commandment; I have greatly missed of it God knows, whom I beseech preserve you from all adversity; I am somewhat acquainted with it.

Your very man,
WM. EBESHAM.

About 1469. 9 E. IV.

Following appeareth, parcelly, divers and sundry manner of writings, which I, William Ebesham, have written for my good and worshipful master, Sir John Paston, and what money I have received, and what is unpaid.¹

¹ We are here furnished with a curious account of the expenses attending the transcribing of books previous to the noble art of printing. At this time the common wages of a mechanic were, with diet, 4*d.*, and without diet 5½*d.* or 6*d.* a day; we here see that a writer received 2*d.* for writing a folio leaf, three of which he could with ease finish in a day, and I should think that many quick writers at that time would fill four, five, or even six in a day: if so, the pay of these greatly exceeded that of common handicraft men.

s. d.

"First, I did write to his mastership a little book of physic, for which I had paid by Sir Thomas Lewis, in Westminster	20	
"Item, I had for the writing of half the Privy Seal, of Pampyng	8	
"Item, for the writing of the said whole Privy Seal, ¹ of Sir Thomas	2	
"Item, I wrote eight of the witnesses ² in parchment but after 14d. a-piece, for which I was paid of Sir Thomas . .	10	
"Item, while my said master was over the sea in midsummer term, Calle set me at work to write two times the Privy Seal in paper, and then after clearly in parchment	4	8
And also I wrote at the same time one more of the longest witnesses, and other diverse and necessary writings, for which he promised me 10s. (whereof I had of Calle but 4s. 8d.) due 5s. 4d.	5	4
"Item, I received of Sir Thomas at Westminster 30th October, ³ 8 E. IV. 1468	3	4
"Item, I did write two quires of paper of witnesses, every quire containing 14 leaves after 2d. a leaf	4	8
"Item, as to the Great Book ⁴ :—		
"First, for writing of the Coronation; and other Treatises of Knighthood, in that quire which containeth a 13 leaves and more, 2d. a leaf	2	2
"Item, for the Treatise of War in four books, which containeth 60 leaves, after 2d. a leaf	10	
"Item, for Othea, ⁵ an epistle, which containeth 43 leaves	7	2
"Item, for the Challenges and the Acts of Arms, which is 28 leaves	4	8
"Item, for De Regimine Principum, ⁶ which containeth 45 leaves, after 1 penny a leaf, which it is right well worth . .	3	9
Carried forward	60	1

¹ Some grant, or other matter, which was to pass the Privy Seal.

² The depositions of witnesses.

³ This exactly ascertains the date of this receipt to be the 30th of October, 1468, 8 E. IV.

⁴ This Great Book seems to have contained various treatises.

⁵ Othea means a Treatise on Wisdom.

⁶ De Regimine Principum.—A Treatise Concerning the Government of Princes, and by being written for a penny each leaf, I suppose it was in quarto.

	s.	d.
Brought forward	60	1
"Item, for rubrishing ¹ of all the book	3	4
	<hr/>	
	63	5

	£	s.	d.
Sum received	0	22	4
Sum unpaid	0	41	1 ²
	<hr/>		
Sum total	3	3	5

WILLIAM EBESHAM.

¹ This either means ornamenting the whole with red capital letters, or writing the heads of the several treatises or chapters in red letters. [*Rubricking.*]

² "Und p'o mo libro script' xxvijs cu' diu' chal." This in the original follows "Sum' non sol. 41s. 1d."

The following account of payments for writing, &c., is extracted from an original quarto MS. in the editor's possession, containing the various expenses of Sir John Howard, knight, of Stoke by Nayland, in Suffolk (afterwards Duke of Norfolk).

Item the vijth yere of Kynge Edward ye iiijth and ye xxviiij day of July (1467). My mast' rekened wt Thomas Lymnor of Bury, and my mast' peid hym—

	s.	d.
For viij hole vynets,* p'se ye vynett xijd	viiij	
Itm. for xxj dī vynets, p'se ye dī vynett, iiijd	vij	
It' for Psalmes lettres, xvc † and dī, ye p'se, of C iiijd	v	ij
It' for p'ms lettres, lxiiijc, ‡ p'se of a Cjd	v	iiij
It' for wrytynge of a quare and dī, p'se ye quayr xxd	ij	vi
It' for wrytynge of a Calender		xij
It' for iiij quayres of velym, p'se ye quayr xxd	v	
It' for notyng of v quayres and ij leves, p'se of ye quayr § viiiij.	iiij	vij
It' for capital drawyng iiijc and dī ye p'se		iiij
It' for floryshyng of capytallis vc		v
It' for byndyng of ye boke 	xij	

The wyche p'cellis my mastr paid h̄y yis day and he is content 1 ij

This is an account of a limner or illuminator of manuscripts, who resided at Bury.

* Borders, flowers, or flourishes at the beginning of a book, chapter, &c. —[vignettes].

† xvc and dī = 1500 and an half.

‡ lxiiijc = 6300.

§ A quire of vellum from this entry seems to consist of four leaves, and his receiving only 3d. for noting two leaves might be accounted for by the last leaf not being full; the drawing and flourishing of the capital letters seems very cheap.

|| 12s. appears a great price for binding a book, but it is so stated in the original account.

LETTER CCLXV.—SIR J. PASTON ENGAGED TO BE MARRIED
To Sir John Paston.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine, thanking you for my seal that ye sent me, but I am right sorry that ye did so great cost thereupon, for one of forty pence should have served me right well; send me word what it cost you and I shall send you money therefor; I sent you a letter by a man of Yarmouth, send me word if ye have it, for I marvel ye sent me none answer thereof by Juddy.

I have none very knowledge of your insurance (*engagement*), but if ye be insured, I pray God send you joy and worship together, and so I trust ye shall have if it be as it is reported of her;¹ and anemps (*before*) God ye are as greatly bound to her as ye were married, and therefore I charge you upon my blessing that ye be as true to her as she were married unto you in all degrees, and ye shall have the more grace and the better speed in all other things.

Also I would that ye should not be too hasty to be married till ye were sure of your livelihood, for ye must remember what charge ye shall have, and if ye have not to maintain it it will be a great rebuke; and therefore labour that ye may have releases of the lands, and be in more surety of your land or than ye be married.

The Duchess of Suffolk² is at Ewelme, in Oxfordshire, and it is thought by your friends here, that it is done that she might be far and out of the way, and the rather feign excuse because of age or sickness if that the king would send for her for your matters.

Your enemies be as bold here as they were before, wherefore I cannot think but that they have some comfort;³ I sent to Caister that they should be wary⁴ in keeping of the place as ye did write to me; haste you to speed your matters as speedily as ye can that ye may have less fellowship at Caister, for the expenses and costs be great, and ye have no need thereof, and ye remember you well what charges ye have beside, and how your livelihood is despoiled and wasted by your adversaries.

¹ Who the lady is does not appear in this letter, but it most probably meant Anne Hault.

² Alice, widow of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was the daughter and heir of Thomas Chaucer, Esq., of Ewelme, and grand-daughter of our famous poet, Geoffrey Chaucer.

³ [Comfort is here meant for support.]

⁴ [Fenn translates *beware*. In orig. *be war*.]

Also I would ye should purvey for your sister¹ to be with my Lady of Oxford,² or with my Lady of Bedford³ or in some other worshipful place whereas ye think best, and I will help to her finding, for we be either of us weary of other; I shall tell you more when I speak with you; I pray you do your devyr herein as ye will my comfort and welfare and your worship, for divers causes which ye shall understand afterward, &c.

I spake with the Lord Scales at Norwich, and thanked him for the good lordship that he had showed to you, and desired his lordship to be your continual good lord; and he swore by his troth he would do that he might do for you, and he told me that Yelverton the justice had spoken to him in your matter, but he told me not what; but I trow and ye desired him to tell you he would. Ye are beholden to my lord of his good report of you in this country, for he reported better of you than I trow ye deserve. I felt by him that there hath been proffered him large proffers on your adversaries' part again you.

Send me word as hastily as ye may after the beginning of the term how ye have sped in all your matters, for I shall think right long till I hear some good tidings.

Item, I pray you recommend me to the good master⁴ that ye gave to the chapel of Caister, and thank him for the great cost that he did on me at Norwich; and if I were a great lady he should understand that he should fare the better for me, for me seemeth by his demeaning he should be right a good man.

Item, I send you the ouch⁵ with the diamond, by the bearer hereof. I pray you forget not to send me a kersche of cr'melle⁶ for neckerchiefs for your sister Anne, for I am schent of the

¹ This was most probably Margery Paston, with whom the whole family were very soon after the writing of this letter so much displeased for having without their consent contracted herself in marriage to Richard Calle.

² Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Howard, knight, and widow of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

³ Jaqueline, the widow of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, was at this time the wife of Richard Widville, Earl Rivers, by whom she was the mother of Anthony Widville, Lord Scales, the nobleman mentioned in this letter: she died in 1472.

⁴ Dr. John Yotton, to whom Sir John Paston had given the chapel in Caister in 1468.

⁵ An ouch is a collar of gold, formerly worn by women: a gold button, set with some jewel, is likewise so called, and that most probably was the ornament here mentioned to be sent to Sir John by his mother; we may suppose it was intended as a present to his betrothed bride.

⁶ A kersche of cr'melle perhaps means a kerchief of cremell, crewel or worsted, to be made into neck-handkerchiefs for her daughter Anne, who appears to have been with some lady of consequence for education and board.

good lady that she is with because she hath none, and I can none get in all this town.

I should write more to you but for lack of leisure; God have you in his keeping, and send you good speed in all your matters. Written in haste on Easter Monday.

By your mother,

MARGARET PASTON.

Norwich, Monday,
3rd of April, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXVI.—SMART CLOTHES

To Master Sir John Paston.

SIR, I pray you recommend me to my Lord Scales's good lordship, and to let him weet that in like wise as his lordship gave me in commandment I have inquired what the gentleman's answer was that my Lord of Norfolk sent to await upon him at the king's coming into this country; his answer was to my Lord of Norfolk's messenger, that he had promised my Lord Scales to await upon him at the same season, and inasmuch as he had promised my Lord Scales, he would not false his promise for no man on live. I found the means that the said gentleman's wife moved her husband with the same matter as though she had asked him of her own head, and he told her that he had given this answer; this gentleman is Sir William Calthorpe,¹ but I pray you tell my Lord Scales that ye understand not who it is, for he prayed me to be secret therein.

I pray with all my heart hie you home in haste, for we think long till ye come; and I pray you send me word whether ye shall be made a Christian man ere ye come home or not; and if so be that ye send any man home hastily, I pray you send me an hat and a bonnet by the same man, and let him bring the hat upon his head for (*fear of*) misfashioning of it; I have need to both, for I may not ride nor go out at the doors with none that I have, they be so lewd (*shabby*); a murrey bonnet, and a black or a tawney hat; and God send you your desire; written at Caister, the 7th day of April.

Your

JOHN PASTON.

Caister, Friday,
7th of April, 1469. 9 E. IV.

¹ Sir William Calthorpe, knight, had been High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, both in this and the preceding reign, and died very old in 1404. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Miles Stapleton, knight, of Ingham.

LETTER CCLXVII.—SIR JOHN HAS POWERFUL FRIENDS

A copy of this and the following letter are written upon the same piece of paper, but without signature or address. The following memorandum on the back of the paper, however, ascertains both: "Copea Litērz Dñi de Scales ad conciliū Dūc Norff et alijs (*alios*) in favore J. Paston mil. eò quod maritaret Cognatā suam Annā Hawte." The contents of these letters sufficiently ascertain the advantages arising from forming connexions with families of consequence; no sooner was an alliance proposed, but both the father and son take Sir John Paston and his affairs under their protection; the Duke of Norfolk's counsel (of which Lord Scales was one) were immediately to take care that no further injuries were to be committed upon his property, and the servants and dependants of these powerful noblemen are to do all in their power to give him every assistance. This marriage never took effect, and the manner in which this affair is several times mentioned, serves only to involve it in mystery. It appears here that the lady's connexions were great, and that she must have been nearly related to the queen.

WORSHIPFUL and my right good friend, I commend me to you; and whereas I am informed that my Lord of Norfolk pretendeth title to certain lands of Sir John Paston's which were late of Sir John Fastolf, it is said that by the commandment and supportation of my said lord certain his servants felleth wood, maketh great waste, and distrained the tenants of the said lands, to the great damage of the said Sir John Paston and his said tenants; and also that my said lord intendeth to enter certain places of the same; and forasmuch as marriage is fully concluded betwixt the said Sir John Paston and one of my nearest kinswomen, I doubt not that your reason well conceiveth that nature must compel me the rather to show my good will, assistance, and favour unto the said Sir John in such things as concern his inheritance; and because I am one of my said lord's counsel, and must and will tender his honour, I heartily pray you that it may like you to advertise and advise my said lord and yours that all such entries, felling of wood, distraining of tenants, and all such matters like, touching the said lands or any part of them, be ceased unto such time as a reasonable mean may be found by my said lord's counsel, my lord my father's, and other cousins and friends of my said kinswoman this next term, as may be to my said lord's honour, and to the saving of the right title of the said Sir John Paston.

Over this I pray you that ye will inform my good friend James Hobart of the premisses, that he may advertise my said lord in likewise; and that ye will give credence unto William

Paston, and I shall be well willed to do that may be to your pleasure, with God's mercy.

From Westminster, the 10th day of April.

SCALES.

Westminster, Monday,
10th of April, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXVIII.—SIR J. PASTON TO MARRY

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved, I greet you well; and forasmuch as a marriage is fully concluded betwixt Sir John Paston and my right near kinswoman Hawte, I will that ye and all other my servants and tenants understand that my lord my father, and I, must of nature and reason show unto him our good assistance and favour in such matters as he shall have a do; wherefore I pray you heartily that ye will take the labour to come to Norwich to commune with William Paston, and to give credence unto him in such matters as he shall inform you of mine intent, and of certain persons with whom ye shall commune by the advice of the said William Paston, of such matters as touch the said Sir John Paston, praying you to tender this matter as ye would do mine own.

From Westminster, the 10th day of April.

SCALES.

Westminster, Monday,
10th of April, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXIX.—SIR JOHN TO HIS BROTHER JOHN

This letter must have been written in 1469, as the thanks to his brother here given by Sir John Paston related to his proper and spirited conduct at Caister Place. His attention to whose success in his marriage with the daughter of Lady Boleyn shows his good nature, and his brotherly regard for him; and the advice which he gives him, respecting his behaviour both to the lady and her daughter, shows Sir John to be a man who not only knew the world, but likewise one who understood the passions and prejudices of individuals. He seemed to think too that a handsome young man could not fail of pleading his own cause successfully with a young lady. Sir Godfrey, or Sir Jeffery Boleyn, was Lord Mayor of London about 1457 or 1458. He died in 1463, leaving Anne, the daughter of Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings, his widow, by whom he had three daughters, Isabel, Anne, and Alice; the last of these was the lady to whom J. Paston wished to pay his addresses, and who afterwards married Sir John Fortescue, knight. The elder married William Cheyney, Esq., and the other became the wife of Sir Henry Heydon, of Baconsthorp, knight, and all were great-aunts to Queen Anna Boleyn, the mother of our sovereign Elizabeth.

To my brother, John Paston.

RIGHT worshipful and verily well-beloved brother, I heartily commend me to you, thanking you of your labour and diligence

that ye have in keeping of my place at Caister so surely, both with your heart and mind, to your great business and trouble; and I again ward have had so little leisure that I have not sped but few of your errands, nor cannot before this time.

As for my Lady Boleyn's disposition to you ward, I cannot in no wise find her agreeable that ye should have her daughter for all the privy means that I could make, insomuch I had so little comfort by all the means that I could make that I disdained in mine own person to commune with her therein; nevertheless I understand that she sayeth, "what if he and she can agree I will not let it, but I will never advise her thereto in no wise." And upon Tuesday last past she rode home into Norfolk; wherefore as ye think ye may find the mean to speak with her yourself, for without that in mine conceit it will not be; and as for Crosby, I understand not that there is no marriage concluded between them, nevertheless there is great language that it is like to be; ye be personable, and, peradventure, your being once in the sight of the maid, and a little discovering of your good will to her, binding her to keep it secret, and that ye can find in your heart with some comfort [*support*] of her to find the mean to bring such a matter about as shall be her pleasure and yours, but that this ye cannot do without some comfort of her in no wise; and bear yourself as lowly to the mother as ye list, but to the maid not too lowly, nor that ye be too glad to speed, nor too sorry to fail; and I always shall be your herald both here, if she come hither, and at home when I come home, which I hope hastily, within forty days at the farthest; my mother hath a letter which can tell you more, and ye may let Daubeney see it.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

I suppose and ye call well upon R. Calle he shall purvey you money. I have written to him enough.

London, April, 1469.

9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXX.—THE DYING BRACKLEY CLEARS J. PASTON'S CHARACTER

John Paston, to his brother Sir John Paston.

SIR, please it you to weet that my mother and I communed this day with Friar Mowght, to understand what his saying shall be in the court when he cometh up to London, which is in this

wise: he sayeth that at such time as he had shriven Master Brackley¹ and howselled him both, he let him weet that he was informed by divers persons that the said Master Brackley ought for to be in great conscience for such things as he had done and said, and caused my father, whom God assoil, for to do and say, also, in proving of Sir John Fastolf's will; to whom the said Master Brackley answered thus again: "I am right glad that it cometh to you in mind for to move me with this matter in discharging of my conscience against God"; saying furthermore to the said Friar Mowght, by the way that his soul should to, that the will that my father put into the court was as verily Sir John Fastolf's will as it was true that he should once die. This was said on the Sunday when the said Brackley wend to have died then; on the Monday he revived again, and was well amended till on the Wednesday, and on the Wednesday he sickened again, supposing to have died forthwith, and in his sickness he called Friar Mowght, which was confessor unto him, of his own motion, saying unto him in this wise, "Sir, whereas of your own motion ye moved me the last day to tell you after my conscience of Sir John Fastolf's will likewise as I knew; and now of mine own motion, and in discharging of my soul, for I know well that I may not escape but that I must die in haste, wherefore I desire you that will report after my death that I took it upon my soul at my dying that that will that John Paston put in to be proved was Sir John Fastolf's will"; and the said Brackley died the same Wednesday.

And whereas ye would have had Richard Calle to you as on Sunday last past, it was this Tuesday ere I had your letter; and whereas it pleaseth you for to wish me at Eltham, at the tourney,² for the good sight that was there, by truth I had lever see you once in Caister-hall than to see as many king's tourneys as might be betwixt Eltham and London.

And, Sir, whereas it liketh you to desire to have knowledge how that I have done with the Lady Boleyn, by my faith I have done nor spoken nought in that matter, nor nought will do till time that ye come home, and ye come not this seven year; notwithstanding the Lady Boleyn was in Norwich in the week after Easter, from the Saturday till the Wednesday, and Heydon's wife and mistress Alice both, and I was at Caister

¹ The meaning of this is, after he had heard his confession and administered the extreme sacrament to Master Brackley.

² Sir John Paston is said to have been the king's champion at this tournament at Eltham.

and wist not of it; her men said that she had none other errand to the town but for to sport her, but so God help me, I suppose that she wend I would have been in Norwich for to have seen her daughter. I beseech you with all my heart hie you home though ye should tarry but a day, for I promise you your folk think that ye have forgotten them, and the most part of them must depart at Whitsuntide at the furthest, they will no longer abide; and as for R. Calle we cannot get half a quarter the money that we pay for the bare household beside men's wages. Daubeney nor I may no more without coinage.

Your

JOHN PASTON.

April, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXI.—KING EDWARD IS CLEVER

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

To begin, God yeld¹ you for my hats. The king hath been in this country—and worshipfully received into Norwich, and had right good cheer and great gifts in this country, wherewith he holdeth him so well content that he will hastily be here again, and the queen also, with whom by my poor advice ye shall come, if so be that the term be done by that time that she come into this country; and as for your matters here, so God help me, I have done as much as in me was, in labouring of them, as well to my Lord Rivers² as to my Lord Scales,³ Sir John Wydville, Thomas Wingfield and others about the king. And as for the Lord Rivers, he said to my uncle William, Fairfax, and me, that he should move the king to speak to the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk that they should leave of their titles of such land as were Sir John Fastolf's, and if so be that they would do nought at the king's request, that then the king should command them to do no waste, nor make none assaults nor frays upon your tenants nor places, till such time as the law hath determined with you or against you; this was said by him the same day in the morning that he departed at noon; whether he moved the king with it or not I cannot say, my uncle William

¹ [Yeld is *thank*. It has occurred in these pages already more than once in that sense.]

² Richard Wydville, Earl Rivers, father to the queen, was at this time Lord Treasurer. This nobleman and his eldest son Sir John Wydville, were in August following both beheaded at Northampton by a riotous mob headed by one Robert of Riddesdale.

³ Anthony Wydville, Lord Scales, was second son to the Earl Rivers.

thinks nay; and the same afternoon following I told my Lord Scales that I had spoken with my lord his father in like form as I have rehearsed, and asked him whether that my lord his father had spoken to the king or not, and he gave me this answer, that whether he had spoken to the king or not that the matter should do well enough.

Thomas Wingfield told me, and swore unto me, that when Brandon moved the king, and besought him to show my lord favour in his matters against you, that the king said unto him again "Brandon, though thou canst beguile the Duke of Norfolk and bring him about the thumb as thou list, I let thee weet thou shalt not do me so; for I understand thy false dealing well enough." And he said unto him, moreover, that if my Lord of Norfolk left not of his hold of that matter that Brandon should repent ~~it~~ every vein in his heart, for he told him that he knew well enough that he might rule my Lord of Norfolk as he would, and if my lord did anything that were contrary to his laws, the king told him he knew well enough that it was by nobody's means but by his, and thus he departed from the king.

Item, as by words, the Lord Scales and Sir John Wydville took tender your matters more than the Lord Rivers.

Item, Sir John Wydville told me, when he was on horseback at the king's departing, that the king had commanded Brandon of purpose to ride forth from Norwich to Lynn, for to take a conclusion in your matter for you; and he bade me that I should cast no doubts but that ye should have your intent, and so did the Lord Scales also; and when that I prayed them at any time to show their favour to your matter, they answered that it was their matter as well as yours, considering the alliance betwixt you.¹

Commune with Jakys Hawte, and he shall tell you what language was spoken between the Duke of Suffolk's counsel, and him, and me; it is too long to write, but I promise you ye are beholden to Jakys, for he spared not to speak.

Item, the king rode through Heylesdon Warren towards Walsingham, and Thomas Wingfield promised me that he would find the means that my Lord of Gloucester² and himself both should show the king the lodge that was broken down, and also that they would tell him of the breaking down of the place.

Contrary to these matters and all the comfort that I had of my Lord Scales, Sir John Wydville, and Thomas Wingfield, my

¹ This refers to the contract between Sir John Paston and Anne Hawte.
² Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III.

uncle William saith that the king told him his own mouth, when he had ridden forth by the lodge in Heylesdon Warren, that he supposed as well that it might fall down by the self as be plucked down, for if it had been plucked down he said that we might have put in our bills of it when his judges sat on the oyer and determiner in Norwich, he being there; and then my uncle saith how that he answered the king, that ye trusted to his good grace that he should set you thorough with both the dukes by mean of treaty, and he saith that the king answered him that he would neither treat nor speak for you, but for to let the law proceed, and so he saith that they departed; and by my troth and my Lord Treasurer encourage you not more than he did us here, ye shall have but easy help as on that party, wherefore labour your matters effectually, for by my troth it is needy; for, for all their words of pleasure, I cannot understand what their labour in this country hath done good, wherefore be not over swift till ye be sure of your land, but labour sore the law, for by my troth till that be passed with you ye get but easy help as I can understand.

I had with me one day at dinner in my mother's place, she being out, the Lord Scales, Sir John Wydville, Sir John Howard, Nicholas Howard, John of Parr, Thomas Garnet, Festus Cheyney, Trussel the knight's son, Thomas Boleyn, qua propter (*in short*) Brampton, Bernard, and Broom, Perse Howse, W. Tonsal, Lewis de Bretayl, and others, and made them good cheer, so as they held them content.

Item, my Lord of Norfolk gave Bernard, Broom, nor me no gowns at this season, wherefore I awaited not on him; notwithstanding I offered my service for that season to my lady, but it was refused, I wot by advice; wherefore I purpose no more to do so. As for Bernard, Barney, Broom, and W. Calthorpe are sworn my Lord of Gloucester's men, but I stand yet at large notwithstanding my Lord Scales spoke to me to be with the king, but I made no promise so to be, for I told him that I was not worth a groat without you, and therefore I would make no promise to nobody till they had your good will first, and so we departed.

It was told me that there was out a privy seal for you to attend upon the king northward; and if it be so, I think verily it is done to have you from London by craft, that ye should not labour your matters to a conclusion this term, but put them delay. I pray you purvey you on it to be at home as soon as the term is done, for by God I take great hurt for mine absence in

divers places, and the most part of your men at Caister will depart without abode and ye be not at home within this fortnight. I pray you bring home points and laces of silk for you and me.

JOHN PASTON.

1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXII.—FAMILY PRIDE OF SIR JOHN PASTON

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

SIR, pleaseth it to understand, that I conceive, by your letter which that ye sent me by Juddy, that ye have heard of Richard Calle's labour which he maketh by our ungracious sister's assent, but whereas they write that they have my good will therein, saving your reverence, they falsely lie of it, for they never spake to me of that matter, nor none other body in their name. Lovell asked me once a question whether that I understood how it was betwixt R^d Calle and my sister; I can think that it was by Calle's means, for when I asked him whether Calle desired him to move me that question or not, he would have gotten it away by hums and by haas, but I would not so be answered; wherefore at the last he told me that his eldest son desired him to spere whether that Richard Calle were sure of her or not, for he said that he knew a good marriage for her, but I wot he lied, for he is whole with Richard Calle in that matter; wherefore to that intent that he nor they should pick no comfort of me, I answered him that and my father, whom God assoil! were alive, and had consented thereto, and my mother, and ye both, he should never have my good will for to make my sister to sell candle and mustard in Framlingham, and thus, with more which were too long to write to you, we departed.

And whereas it pleaseth you in your letter to cry me mercy for that ye sent me not such gear as I sent you money for; I cry you mercy that I was so lewd to encumber you with any so simple a matter, considering the great matters and weighty that ye have to do; but need compelled me, for in this country is no such stuff as I sent to you for.

Also, whereas it pleaseth you to send to Richard Calle to deliver me money, so God help me I will none ask him for myself, nor none had I of him, nor of none other man but of mine own since ye departed, but that little that I might forbear of mine own I have delivered to Daubeney for household, and

paid it for you in men's wages, and therefore whoever sendeth you word that I have spent you any money since ye went hence, they must give you another reckoning, saving in meat and drink, for I eat like an horse, of purpose to eat you out at the doors, but that needeth not for you come not within them, wherefore so God help me, the fellowship here thinks that ye have forgotten us all, wherefore and anything be ill ruled when ye come home wyte (*blame*) it yourself for default of oversight.

Also, I understand for very certain, and it is sent me so word out of my lord's house, that this Pentecost is my lord's counsel at Framlingham, and they purpose this week and the next to hold courts here at Caister, and at all other manors that were Sir John Fastolf's, purchased of Yelverton and of Sir Thomas Howys, whom God assoil, and how that my demeaning should be it is too late to send to you for advice, wherefore and I do well I ask no thank, and if I do ill I pray you lay the default on over little wit, but I purpose to use the first point of hawking, to hold fast and I may; but so God help me, and they might pull down the house on our heads I wyte them not, which I trust to God to keep them from; for by God that bought me, the best earl in England would not deal so with my lord and my lady as ye do, without making of some means to them; so God help me, whosoever advise you to do so he is not your friend; and I may I trust to God to see you about Midsummer or before, for in good faith I ween ye purpose you that it shall be Easter ere ye come home, for all your servants here ween that ye purpose no more to deal with them, but to leave them here in hostage to my Lord of Norfolk.

Also, Sir, I pray you purvey what inn¹ that my brother Edmund shall be in, for he loseth sore his time here I promise you; I pray you send me word by the next messenger that cometh, and I shall either send him or bring him up with me to London.

Also, Sir, we poor sans deniers of Caister have broken three or four steel-bows, wherefore we beseech you and there be any maker of steel-bows in London which is very cunning, that ye will send me word, and I shall send you the bows that be broken, which be your own great bow, and Robert Jackson's bow, and John Pampyng's bow; these three have cast so many calvys that they shall never cast quarrels (*square-headed arrows*) till they be new made.

¹ [The inn to be purveyed was an inn of court no doubt. But Edmund became a soldier, and was in garrison at Calais in 1473.]

I pray you find the means that my lord may have some reasonable mean proffered, so that he and my lady may understand that ye desire to have his good lordship; I promise you it shall do you ease and your tenants both, and God preserve (you).

JOHN PASTON.

Caister, Whitsuntide.

May, 1469. 9 E. IV.

Whitsunday was on the 21st May in 1469.

LETTER CCLXXIII.—IMPROPER ENGAGEMENT OF MARGERY PASTON

To Mistress Margery Paston.

MINE own lady and mistress, and before God very true wife, I with heart full sorrowful recommend me unto you, as he that cannot be merry, nor nought shall be till it be otherwise with us than it is yet, for this life that we lead now is neither pleasure to God nor to the world, considering the great bond of matrimony that is made betwixt us, and also the great love that hath been and as I trust yet is betwixt us, and as on my part never greater; wherefore I beseech Almighty God comfort us as soon as it pleaseth him, for we that ought of very right to be most together are most asunder, meseemeth it is a thousand year ago since that I spake with you, I had lever than all the good in the world I might be with you; alas, alas! good lady, full little remember they what they do that keep us thus asunder, four times in the year are they accursed that let matrimony; it causeth many men to deem in them they have large conscience in other matters as well as herein; but what lady suffer as ye have done; and make you as merry as ye can, for I wis, lady, at the long way, God will of his righteousness help his servants that mean truly, and would live according to his laws, &c.

I understand, lady, ye have had as much sorrow for me as any gentlewoman hath had in the world, as would God all that sorrow that ye have had had rested upon me, and that ye had been discharged of it, for I wis, Lady, it is to me a death to hear that ye be entreated otherwise than ye ought to be; this is a painful life that we lead, I cannot live thus without it be a great displeasure to God.

Also like you to weet that I had sent you a letter by my lad from London, and he told me he might not speak with you, there was made so great await upon him and upon you both: he told me John Thresher came to him in your name, and said

that ye sent him to my lad for a letter or a token which I should have sent you, but he trust him not, he would not deliver him none; after that he brought him a ring, saying that ye sent it him, commanding him that he should deliver the letter or token to him, which I conceive since by my lad it was not by your sending, it was by my mistress and Sir James's advice; alas! what mean they? I suppose they deem we be not ensured together, and if they so do I marvel, for then they are not well advised, remembering the plainness that I brake to my mistress at the beginning, and I suppose by you, both, and ye did as ye ought to do of very right, and if ye have done the contrary, as I have been informed ye have done, ye did neither conciensly nor to the pleasure of God, without ye did it for fear and for the time, to please such as were at that time about you; and if ye did it for this cause, it was a reasonable cause, considering the great and importable calling upon that ye had, and many an untrue tale was made to you of me, which, God know it, I was never guilty of.

My lad told me that my mistress your mother asked him if he had brought any letter to you, and many other things she bare him on hand, and among all other at the last she said to him that I would not make her privy to the beginning, but she supposed I would at the ending; and as to that God knoweth, she knew it first of me and none other; I wot not what her mistress-ship meaneth, for by my troth there is no gentlewoman alive that my heart tendereth more than it doth her, nor is loather to displease, saving only your person, which of very right I ought to tender and love best, for I am bound thereto by the law of God, and so will do while that I live whatsoever fall of it; I suppose and ye tell them sadly the truth, they will not damn their souls for us; though I tell them the truth they will not believe me as well as they will do you, and therefore, good lady, at the reverence of God be plain to them and tell the truth, and if they will in no wise agree thereto, betwixt God, the devil, and them be it, and that peril that we should be in I beseech God it may lie upon them and not upon us; I am heavy and sorry to remember their disposition. God send them grace to guide all things well, as well I would they did; God be their guide, and send them peace and rest, &c.

I marvel much that they should take this matter so heedely as I understand they do, remembering it is in such case as it cannot be remedied, and my desert upon every behalf it is for to be thought there should be none obstacle against it; and also

the worshipful that is in them is not in your marriage, it is in their own marriage, which I beseech God send them such as may be to their worship and pleasure to God, and to their hearts' ease, for else were it great pity. Mistress, I am afraid to write to you, for I understand ye have showed my letters that I have sent you before this time; but I pray you let no creature see this letter, as soon as ye have read it let it be burnt, for I would no man should see it in no wise; ye had no writing from me this two year, nor I will not send you no more, therefore I remit all this matter to your wisdom; Almighty Jesu preserve, keep, and (*give*) you your heart's desire, which I wot well should be to God's pleasure, &c.

This letter was written with as great pain as ever wrote I thing in my life, for in good faith I have been right sick, and yet am not verily at ease, God amend it, &c.

RICHARD CALLE.

1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXIV.—THE KING'S MOVEMENTS

Humphrey Lord Stafford was created Earl of Devonshire in May, 1469, and beheaded at Bridgewater, the 17th of August following, by command of the king, for abandoning the Earl of Pembroke before the battle of Banbury; by which means the rebels were victorious.

To my worshipful brother, Sir John Paston, be this bill delivered in haste.

RIGHT worshipful brother, I recommend me unto you, letting you to weet that my Lord Stafford was made Earl of Devonshire upon Sunday; and as for the king, as I understand, he departyt to Walsingham¹ upon Friday come sev'night, and the queen also, if God send her hele. And as for the king, was appointed for to go to Calais, and now it is put off.

And also as for the going to the sea, my Lord of Warwick's ships go to the sea, as I understand. None other tidings I can none write unto you, but Jesu have you in his keeping.

Written at Windsor on Monday after Whitsunday in haste, &c.

By your brother,²

JAMES HAWTE.

Whitsun Monday,

22nd of May, 1469. 9 E. IV.

¹ This must have been on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk.

² I do not know why he calls Sir John Paston his brother; for Sir John certainly never married Anne Hawte, who possibly might be the sister of James.

LETTER CCLXXV.—LOYAL NORWICH

This letter shows the attention which the city of Norwich wished to pay to the queen on her reception, and during her residence there. Henry Spelman married Ela, daughter and co-heir of William de Narburgh, and was the first of that family that settled at Narborough in Norfolk.

To the right reverend Sir Henry Spelman, recorder of the city of Norwich, be this letter delivered.

RIGHT reverend Sir, I recommend me to you. Please it you to know this same day came to me the sheriff of Norfolk¹ himself, and told me that the queen² shall be at Norwich upon Tuesday³ come sev'night surely. And I desired to have know of him, because this should be her first coming hither, how we should be ruled, as well in her receiving as in her abiding here. And he said he would not occupy him therewith, but he counselled us to write to you to London, to know of them that been of counsel of that city, or with other worshipful men of the same city, that been knowing in that behalf; and we to be ruled thereafter as were according for us; for he let me to weet that she would desire to be received and attended as worshipfully as ever was queen afore her.⁴ Wherefore I, by the assent of my brethren aldermen, &c., pray you heartily to have this labour for this city, and that it please you, if it may be, that at that day ye be here in proper person. And I trust in God, that either in rewards or else in thankings both of the king's coming and in this, ye shall be pleased as worthy is. Written in haste at Norwich, the 6th day of July anno 9^o Regis Edw^{di} quarti.

By your well-willer,

JOHN AUBRY,⁵ &c.

Norwich, Thursday,
6th of July, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXVI.—SIR JOHN PASTON'S LIVERIES

To my mother, and to my brother John Paston.

BROTHER, it is so that the king shall come into Norfolk in haste, and I wot not whether that I may come with him or not; if I come, I must do make a livery of twenty gowns, which I must pick out by your advice; and as for the cloth for such persons

¹ Roger Ree was sheriff of Norfolk in 1469.

² Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV.

³ 18th of July, 1469.

⁴ [A necessary caution, perhaps, on account of her birth.]

⁵ John Aubry was mayor of Norwich in 1469.

as be in that country, if it might be had there at Norwich or not I wot not; and what persons I am not remembered.

If my mother be at Caister, as there shall be no doubt, for the keeping of the place while the king is in that country, that I may have the most part at Caister.

And whether ye will offer yourself to wait upon my Lord of Norfolk or not, I would ye did that best were to do; I would do my lord pleasure and service, and so I would ye did, if I wist to be sure of his good lordship in time to come. He shall have two hundred in a livery blue and tawny, and blue on the left side, and both dark colours.

I pray you send me word and your advice by Juddy of what men and what horse I could be purveyed of, if so be that I must needs come; and of your advice in all things by writing, and I shall send you hastily other tidings. Let Sorrell be well kept.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

LETTER CCLXXVII.—MARGERY HOLDS TO HER LOVER

We find by the conversation here given us between the Bishop of Norwich, Agnes Paston, and Margaret Paston, that a contract of marriage had been made between Margery Paston, the daughter of the latter, and Richard Calle, and that her family wished to have a hearing in the Bishop's Court, either to disprove it, or, if proved, to set it aside. The young lady's behaviour, and the account which both she and Richard Calle give of the contract, seem to confirm it, and obliged the bishop to take time to consider of the matter before any sentence could be pronounced; though he seemed to wish to have it in his power to adjust the matter to the satisfaction of the family. The expressions of Margaret Paston respecting her daughter must be read with some allowance; we must construe some of them as words of passion and resentment, arising from her avowal of her intentions to fulfil the contract, &c. [The bishop was still Walter Lyhert, or Hart, who died in 1472.]

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet that on Thursday last was, my mother and I were with my Lord of Norwich, and desired him that he would no more do in the matter touching your sister till that ye and my brother and others that were executors to your father might be here together, for they had the rule of her as well as I; and he said plainly that he had been required so often to examine her, that he might not nor would no longer delay it, and charged me in pain of cursing that she should not be deferred, but that she should appear before him the next day; and I said plainly that I would neither bring her nor send her; and then he said that he would send for her himself, and charged that she should

be at her liberty to come when he sent for her; and he said by his troth that he would be as sorry for her, and she did not well, as he would be and she were right near of his kin, both for my mother's sake and mine, and other of her friends, for he wist well that her demeaning had sticked sore at our hearts.

My mother and I informed him that we could never understand by her saying, by no language that ever she had to him, that neither of them were bound to other, but that they might choose, both; then he said that he would say to her as well as he could before that he examined her; and so it was told me by divers persons that he did as well and as plainly as she had been right near to him, which were too long to write at this time, hereafter ye shall weet, and who were labourers therein; the chancellor ¹ was not so guilty therein as I wend he had been.

On Friday the bishop he sent for her by Ashfield and other that are right sorry of her demeaning, and the bishop said to her right plainly, and put her in remembrance how she was born, what kin and friends that she had, and should have more if she were ruled and guided after them; and if she did not, what rebuke, and shame, and loss should be to her if she were not guided by them, and cause of forsaking ² of her for any good, or help, or comfort that she should have of them; and said that he had heard say that she loved such one that her friends were not pleased with that she should have, and therefore he bade her be right well advised how she did; and said that he would understand the words that she had said to him whether it made matrimony or not, and she rehearsed what she had said, and said if those words made it not sure, she said boldly that she would make it surer ere than she went thence, for she said she thought in her conscience she was bound whatsoever the words were; these lewd words grieveth me and her grandam as much as all the remanent; and then the bishop and the chancellor both said that there was neither I nor no friend of hers would receive (*her*).

And then Calle was examined apart by himself, that her words and his accorded, and the time, and where it should have been done; and then the bishop said that he supposed that there should be found other things against him that might cause the letting thereof, and therefore he said he would not be too hasty

¹ Dr. John Saresson, otherwise Wigenhale, was chancellor to the bishop from 1435 to 1471, and had other church preferment in the diocese.

² [And *be the cause of their* forsaking, &c. Many instances of this concise style will have been already noticed in these letters, and was by no means uncommon among our best writers to a much later period.]

to give sentence thereupon, and said that he would give over day till the Wednesday or Thursday after Michaelmas, and so it is delayed; they would have had her will performed in haste, but the bishop said he would none otherwise than he had said.

I was with my mother at her place when she was examined, and when I heard say what her demeaning was, I charged my servants that she should not be received in my house: I had given her warning, she might have been aware afore if she had been gracious; and I sent to one or two more that they should not receive her if she came; she was brought again to my place for to have been received, and Sir James told them that brought her that I had charged them all and she should not be received; and so my Lord of Norwich hath set her at Roger Best's, to be there till the day before said, God knoweth full evil against his will and his wife's if they durst do otherwise; I am sorry that they are cumyred (*cumbered, or troubled*) with her, but yet I am better paid (*satisfied*) that she is there for the while than she had been in other place, because of the sadness (*seriousness*) and good disposition of himself and his wife, for she shall not be sou'd (*suffered?*) there to play the brethel (*frail one*); I pray you and require you that ye take it not pensily (*heavily*), for I wot well it goeth right near your heart, and so doth it to mine and to others, but remember you, and so do I, that we have lost of her but a brethel, and set it the less to heart, for and she had been good, wheresoever she had been, it should not have been as it is, for and he were dead at this hour, she should never be at mine heart as she was. As for the divorce that ye write to me of, I suppose what ye meant, but I charge you upon my blessing that ye do not, nor cause none other to do, that should offend God and your conscience, for and ye do, or cause for to be done, God will take vengeance thereupon, and ye should put yourself and others in great jeopardy, for wot it well she shall full sore repent her lewdness hereafter, and I pray God she might so. I pray you for mine heart's ease be ye of a good comfort in all things; I trust God shall help right well, and I pray God so do in all our matters; I would ye took heed if there were any labour made in the court of Canterbury for the lewd matter aforesaid.

But if the duke¹ be purveyed for, he and his wise counsel shall leave this country; it is told me that he saith that he will

¹ This I suppose relates to the Duke of Norfolk; the other duke most probably means either the Duke of Clarence or of Suffolk.

not spare to do that he is purposed for no duke in England. God help at need.¹

Norwich, before Michaelmas,
1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXVIII.—SIR JOHN APPEARS NEGLECTFUL

The dispute concerning the possession of Caister now becoming a matter of great consequence, and the siege of it being determined upon by the Duke of Norfolk if some conciliatory plan could not be devised, Margaret Paston informs Sir John of the different schemes proposed; these she wishes him thoroughly to consider, and, if none should be adopted, at all events to succour his friends there. Sir John Heveningham, though engaged against the Pastons, shows himself not only a friend to them, but a faithful officer to his commander the Duke of Norfolk.

To Sir John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet that Sir John Heveningham was at Norwich this day, and spake with me at my mother's, but he would not that it should be understood, for my lord hath made him one of the captains at Caister of the people that should keep the watch about the place that no man should succour them, if my lord departed. I desired him to favour them if any man should come to them from me or you, and he would not grant it, but he desired me to write to you to understand, if that my lord might be moved to find surety to recompense you all wrongs, and ye would suffer him to enter peaceably, and the law after his entry would deem it you; be ye advised what answer ye would give.

Item, since that I spake with him and the same day, a faithful friend of ours came unto me and moved me if that my lord might be intreated to suffer indifferent men to keep the place, and take the profits for both parties till the right be determined by the law; and my lord for his part, and ye for your part, to find sufficient surety that you neither should vex, let, nor trouble the said indifferent men to keep peaceably the possession of the said place, and to take the profits unto the time it be determined by the law to his behoof that the law deemeth it; and the said persons that so indifferently keep possession, before their entry into the said place, to find also sufficient surety to answer the party that the law deemeth it to of the profits during their

¹ On the back of the letter in an ancient hand is written, "A Lrē to Sr. Io. Paston from his mother, touching the good-will between hir daughter Margery P. and Ric. Call, who were after maryed together." It seems from this memorandum that the contract of marriage was proved and confirmed, and that in consequence of it a marriage took place between the parties.

possession, and to suffer him peaceably to enter, or any in his name, whensoever they be required by the party to whom the right is deemed of all these premises; send me word how ye will be demeaned by as good advice as ye can get, and make no longer delay, for they must needs have hasty succour that be in the place, for they be sore hurt and have none help, and if they have hasty help it shall be the greatest worship that ever ye had, and if they be not holpen it shall be to you a great disworship; and look never to have favour of your neighbours and friends but if this speed well; therefore prend (*consider*)¹ it in your mind, and purvey therefore in haste; howsoever ye do, God keep you, and send you the victory of your enemies, and give you and us all grace to live in peace. Written on St. Giles's even, at nine of the bell at night.

Robin came home yester even, and he brought me neither writing from you, nor good answer of this matter, which grieveth me right ill that I have sent you so many messengers and have so feeble answers again.

By your mother,
MARGARET PASTON.

Norwich, Friday,
1st September, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXIX.—CONTINUED TROUBLE ABOUT CAISTER

Master Writtill, or Wrettell, the person to whom this letter is addressed, was a servant of the Duke of Clarence, and appears to have been sent down to endeavour at an accommodation between the besiegers and the besieged, during the truce which was then taken. Sir John Paston, however, seems fearful lest any appointment should be taken detrimental to his interest, though at the same time he would submit to anything rather than that his brother's and his servants' lives should be endangered. John Duke of Norfolk claimed this manor and castle of Caister under an agreement for a purchase, which had passed between him and Sir William Yelverton and Thomas Howys, two of Sir John Fastolf's executors. It does not appear that they could legally convey this estate, as, by Sir John Fastolf's will, it had been left for charitable uses, and towards founding and endowing a college, &c., &c. [What was Sir John Paston's right? It is nowhere clearly stated.]

To Master Writtill.

MASTER WRITTILL, I recommend me to you, beseeching you heartily, as mine whole trust is in you, that ye do your devoir to continue truce till Friday or Saturday in the morning, by which time I hope the messenger shall come, and that ye be not driven to take an appointment if ye can understand by any

¹ [*Pretend* in original; perhaps an error for *perpend*.]

likelihood that it be able to be abydyn¹ and resisted, and that ye feel my brother's disposition therein as my trust is in you, praying you to remember that it resteth, as God help me, on all my weal; for, as God help me, I had lever the place were brenned, my brother and servants saved, than the best appointment that ever ye and I communed of should by my good-will be taken, if this message from the king may rescue it; and if it be so that my lord be removed by the king's commandment, which resteth with his honour, I may in time to come do him service as shall recompense any grudge or displeasure that he ever had or hath to me or mine; and ye, if it the rather by your wisdom and policy the mean above written may be had, shall be as sure of the service of my true brother and servants and me as ye can devise by my troth; for in good faith this matter sticketh more nigh mine heart and me than I can write unto you, and to my brother and servants more near than, as God knoweth, they wot of; wherefore, master Writtill, all our welfare resteth in you, beseeching you to remember it, for this matter is to all us either making or marring.

Item, as for Arblaster or Lovell, I cannot think that they or any of them may be with you, wherefore in you is all; and God have you in keeping.

Written at London, the next day after your departing; I shall send you more knowledge to-morrow, with God's grace.

Yours,

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, September, 1469.

9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXX.—CAISTER AGAIN

To Master Writtill.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, thanking you of your great labour which I have not as yet but I shall deserve to my power; and furthermore like you to weet that I have thought right long after you; nevertheless I remember well that ye dealt with right delayous people, my lord archbishop and other of my lords, and I dempt because of your long tarrying that by your sad discretion all had been set thorough; nevertheless I understand by your writing that my Lord of Norfolk's counsel thinketh that his intent, which ye certified me by your writing, should be more to his worship than the appointments

¹ [So in original. *Abydin* is to be *delayed*. Fenn translates *avoided*.]

and rule made by the lords of the king's council, which be to my said Lord of Norfolk ner kyne (*nothing kind*), which appointments since your departing hath been largely remembered among the said lords here, thinking it in themselves so honourable to my Lord of Norfolk, that there should none of my lord's counsel well advised (*have*) moved to the contrary.

James Hobart¹ was sent from my (*Lord*) of Norfolk hither, and spake with my lord archbishop,² and answer he had of my said lord and how my lord tendered the matter yet and will; I trow he hath told you, and if he have not the bringer hereof shall inform you; and he brought this same appointment from my lord, that my lord was well agreed that I should occupy; for my part, if I should take no other appointment but according to your letter, it were hard for me and for my title to put my lord in that possession, for there is things in erthe (*scarcely*) to mine ease in your letter, [*or*] good for me in that appointment, saving the surety of my brother's life and my servants, which ye think doubtful if so be that they lack stuff, shot, and victuals; marvelling sore, and think it impossible in this short season, or in four times the season hithertowards, that they should lack either, without it so be that my lord's men have entered ought the place, and so had their stuff from them, which I cannot think. Also, Sir, for the time of your coming to my Lord of Norfolk, servants of my lord's were with my mother at Norwich, moving to send to my brother her son to deliver the place under such a form as your letter specifieth, and so I cannot understand what regard my lord's counsel taketh to my lords' letter and to your labour in this behalf, but that they offered as largely afore; ye writeth in your letter that ye durst not pass your credence, please you to remember that [*you*] said your credence afore the lords was right large, and as large as might well be in this matter, both to my lord's counsel of Norfolk to withdraw the siege, with more other matter as ye know, and to the justice of the peace, and to the sheriff and his officers, your authority was great enough to each of them.

Wherefore, Master Writtill, I never for this nor yet will take appointment in this matter but as my lords will and my lord archbishop, which, as well as I myself, have wholly put our trust to your discreet direction; and my said lord since your

¹ This most probably was James Hobart, who, in 1478, was Lent-reader at Lincoln's Inn, and in 1487 attorney-general. He died in 1516, and lies buried in Norwich Cathedral; from him the present Earl of Buckinghamshire is lineally descended.

² George Nevile was translated from Exeter to York in 1464.

going, thinking you as meet a man in executing their commandment as could be chosen; nevertheless for answer to you at this season, my lord archbishop is northwards towards the king; howbeit, it is said, upon a meeting with my Lord of Clarence my lord shall return again; and as yester even he sent a servant of his to me, weening to his lordship that Sir Humphrey¹ and ye were in Caister as was appointed, and ye should send to his lordship answer of the guiding there by writing, commanding me that, if any such writings came from you, if his lordship were not past twenty miles from London to come to his lordship with the same; understanding for certain that he is not yet so far; wherefore I will in all the haste possible ride night and day till I see his lordship, and after communication had with his lordship, as soon as is possible that a man may go betwixt, ye shall have an answer of his disposition; for his interest is such that, as I have written, I shall never do therein without him, as my cousin, bringer hereof, more plainly shall inform you; for I can think right well that, as ye writeth to me, my brother will not deliver the place to none earthly person but if he see writing from my lord.

It seemeth by your writing that my Lord of Norfolk's counsel intend not that my lord archbishop should deal in this matter, for he is not named in your letter, whereof I marvel; for it was moved to you at your departing hence the king's council should have taken direction in this matter, or else my lord cardinal,² my Lord of Clarence, my lord archbishop, and my Lord of Essex,³ &c. Nevertheless, Master Wittill, all profit, manor, or livelihood laid apart, if it be so that through recklessness my brother and servants be in such jeopardy as ye have written to me, which should be half impossible in my mind that they should misuse so much stuff in four times the space, and that ye have evident knowledge by my said brother himself thereof; I will pray you to see him and them in surety of their lives, whatsoever shall fall of the livelihood, howbeit, I would not that my brother and servants should give up the place not for a thousand pounds if they might in any wise keep it and save their lives; and therefore, at the reverence of God, since it is so that my lord archbishop, and my lords all, and I, have put our trust in you, that ye will do your devoir to have the very knowledge of my brother himself, and not of my lord's men, whether he stand in such

¹ Sir Humphrey Talbot was a captain at this siege, under the Duke of Norfolk.

² Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Cardinal.

³ Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex.

jeopardy as your letter specifieth or not, for I doubt not upon the sight of this letter, and of the letter that ye had before, that my brother will put no mistrust in you, considering that he knoweth that ye come from my lords and my lord archbishop and have my writing; and as for my lord archbishop's writing and answer, such as it shall be, ye shall have it in all haste possible, but I think verily that my lord escheweth to tell you anything without that he might speak with you alone, and methinketh verily that they ought not to let you to speak with him alone, considering that ye have authority and writing from the lords so to do; and as for the justification of entering the place, and siege laying to the same, and the commandment of the justice of the peace and the sheriff to assist my lord in this guiding, I wot ye understand that the lords know all that matter, and ye heard it communed, and how they took it in their conceits.

There is no more, Master Writtill, but I commit all this writing unto your discretion, and as ye think best according to such men's desire as have intreated you therein and for my most avail, I pray you, Sir, so do, and I shall see unto your business, and labour that ye shall have cause to do for me in time coming, and as the bringer hereof shall tell you, and I pray God have you in his keeping.

Written at London, the 10th day of September.

By your friend for ever,

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Sunday,
10th of September, 1469.
9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXI.—LITIGATION BY SIEGE

A disputed title to an estate is not contested in the courts of law, but by a regular and well-conducted siege laid to the castle claimed by the besiegers. Every warlike preparation is made by both parties, and the assault and defence is carried on with the greatest military skill. The number of the besiegers is said by Blomefield to have amounted to three thousand, while the number of those who defended the place did not exceed thirty persons; a proof of the strength of the fortress attacked, which, with this handful of men, held out some time. The anxiety of Margaret Paston for the safety of her son and his companions interests us in her favour, and her advice to Sir John to apply to the Earl of Oxford for his assistance to raise the siege, though, if attended with success, he should enjoy the manor of Caister for his life, is a curious circumstance, and throws light upon the manners and politics of the times. [This was in fact a *legal* proceeding; and even at present, as we have before remarked, the holding or acquiring possession of premises by force is by no means unfrequent. "Disseisin, or forcible dispossession of freeholds," says Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. iii.), "makes one of the most considerable articles in our law books." He also adds in a note: "If a man was disseised of his land, he

might enter upon the disseisor and reinstate himself without course of law. In what cases this right of entry was taken away, or tolled, as it was expressed, by the death or alienation of the disseisor, is a subject extensive enough to occupy two chapters of Littleton. What pertains to our inquiry, is that, by *an entry* in the old law-books, we must understand an actual repossession of the disseisee, not a suit in ejectment, as it is now interpreted, but which is a comparatively modern proceeding. The first remedy, says Britton, of the disseisee is to collect a body of his friends (*recoiller amys et force*), and without delay to cast out the disseisors, or at least to maintain himself in possession along with them—c. 44. This entry ought indeed, by 5 Ric. II., stat. i. c. 8, to be made peaceably; and the justices might assemble the *posse comitatus* to imprison persons entering on lands by violence (15 Ric. II., cap. 2); but these laws imply the facts that made them necessary." The law, as far as regards freeholds, is now rather modified than altered: "the entry must be made peaceably,"—and, as the law has now more vigour, any open breach of the public peace is no longer permitted, and the entry is usually made by a forcible surprise. Even as regards leasehold or yearly tenancies, it was only by the 1 & 2 Victoria, c. 74, that magistrates were empowered to give possession to landlords of premises of not more than 20*l.* a-year rent, where the tenant refused to give up possession. Unroofing the house, stopping the chimneys, and other means were occasionally resorted to in order to eject a refractory tenant. In the case of Caister, the right on either side appears very doubtful. Sir John Paston held it as executor to Sir J. Fastolf; but from the complaints of Howys, Worcester, the Abbot of Langley, and others, it would seem he was very dilatory in fulfilling the directions of the will, and, in fact, was treating it as his own property. On the other hand, Yelverton and Howys sold it to Norfolk, probably under the pretext of paying the bequests of the will, or at least their own; but the act of these two executors only could clearly convey no legal title. That these proceedings were customary, and considered not illegal, accounts also for the absence of any personal animosity. The Duke of Norfolk's party well knew that J. Paston could never be convicted of the murder with which he was accused, but the charge would take an active opponent out of their way; while J. Paston, equally aware of the real state of the case, would not thereby be prevented from taking service under the duke.]

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

I GREET you well, letting you weet that your brother and his fellowship stand in great jeopardy at Caister, and lack victuals, and Daubeney¹ and Berney² be dead, and divers other greatly hurt; and they fail gunpowder and arrows, and the place sore broken with guns of the other party, so that but they have hasty help they be like to lose both their lives and the place, to the greatest rebuke to you that ever came to any gentleman, for every man in this country marvelleth greatly that ye suffer them to be so long in so great jeopardy without help or other remedy.

¹ John Daubeney, Esq., whose death is here mentioned, was a gentleman of a good family in the county of Norfolk.

² Osbert Berney, the other person here mentioned as dead, was not killed at this siege: he survived, and died without issue some years after, when he was buried in Bradeston Church in Norfolk, there being a brass-plate in the chancel to his memory.

The duke hath been more fervently set thereupon, and more cruel, since that Writtill, my Lord of Clarence's man, was there, than he was before: and he hath sent for all his tenants from every place, and others, to be there at Caister on Thursday next coming, that there is then like to be the greatest multitude of people that came there yet; and they purpose then to make a great assault, for they have sent for guns to Lynn and other places by the sea's side, that, with their great multitude of guns with other shot and ordnance, there shall no man dare appear in the place, they shall hold them so busy with their great (*number of*) people that it shall not lie in their power within to hold it against them without God help them or (*they*) have hasty succour from you; therefore, as ye will have my blessing, I charge you and require you that ye see your brother be holpen in haste, and if ye can have none mean rather desire writing from my Lord of Clarence if he be at London, or else of my Lord Archbishop of York, to the Duke of Norfolk, that he will grant them that be in the place their lives and their goods, and in eschewing of insurrections with other inconveniences that be like to grow within the shire of Norfolk, this troublous werd (*tumultuous world*), because of such conventicles and gatherings within the said shire, for cause of the said place, they shall suffer him to enter upon such appointment or other like, taken by the advice of your counsel there at London if ye think this be not good, till the law hath determined otherwise, and let him write another letter to your brother to deliver the place up on the same appointment; and if ye think, as I can suppose, that the Duke of Norfolk will not agree to this because he granted this afore, and they in the place would not accept it, then I would the said messenger should with the said letters bring from the said Lord of Clarence, or else my lord archbishop, to my Lord of Oxford other letters to rescue them forthwith, though the said Earl of Oxford should have the place during his life for his labour; spare not this to be done in haste if ye will have their lives, and be set by (*esteemed*) in Norfolk, though ye should lose the best manor of all for the rescuse [*rescue*]. I had lever ye lost the livelihood than their lives; ye must get a messenger of the lords, or some other notable man, to bring these letters; do your devoir now, and let me send you no more messengers for this matter, but send me by the bearer hereof more certain comfort than ye have done by all other that I have sent before; in any wise let the letters that shall come to the Earl of Oxford, come with the letters that shall come to the Duke of Norfolk, that if he

will not agree to the one, that ye may have ready your rescuse that it need no more to send, therefore God keep you.

Written the Tuesday next before Holy Rood day, in haste.

By your mother,

MARGARET PASTON.

Norwich, Tuesday,
12th of September, 1469.
9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXII.—SIR JOHN PROTESTS

Sir John Paston here seems hurt at his mother's suspecting him of not exerting himself to the utmost in endeavouring either to accommodate matters, or to assist his brother and friends within the place. He shows himself likewise both a man of spirit in coming with a few to their relief if he had a place in Norfolk for their reception, and of feeling for the distress of those shut up in his castle at Caister. [We do not doubt that Sir John Paston was a man of courage and of feeling; but this is but a slight proof of either, particularly as he neither came nor sent any effective assistance. He does not, in fact, appear to attach much importance to his mother's news.]

To Margaret Paston.

MOTHER, upon Saturday last was Daubeney and Berney were alive and merry, and I suppose there came no man out of the place to you since that time that could have ascertained to you of their deaths; and as touching the fierceness of the Duke or of his people, showed since that time that Writtill departed, I trow it was concluded that truce and abstinence of war should be had ere he departed, which shall endure till Monday next coming; and by that time I trow that truce shall be taken till that day sev'nnight after, by which time I hope of a good direction [*that*] shall be had; and whereas ye write to me that I should sue for letters from my Lords of Clarence and York, they be not here, and if they wrote to him as they have done two times, I trow it would not avail; and as for to labour those letters and the rescue together, they be two sundry things, for when the rescue is ready, that the cost thereof is done, for if I be driven thereto to rescue it, ere they come there that should do it, it shall cost a thousand escutys, and as much after, which way were hard for me to take while that I may do it otherwise; but as to say that they shall be rescued if all the lands that I have in England and friends may do it, they shall and God be friendly, and that as shortly as it may goodly and well be brought about; and the greatest default earthly is money and some friends and neighbours to help, wherefore I beseech you to send me comfort with what money ye could find the means

to get or chevise (*borrow upon interest*), upon surety sufficient or upon livelihood to be in mortgage or yet sold, and what people by likelihood your friends and mine could make upon a short warning, and to send me word in all the haste as it is needful; but, mother, I feel by your writing that ye deem in me I should not do my devoir without ye wrote to me some heavy tidings, and, mother, if I had need to be quickened with a letter in this need I were of myself too slow a fellow; but, mother, I ensure you that I have heard ten times worse tidings since the siege began than any letter that ye wrote to me, and sometimes I have heard right good tidings both; but this I assure you that they that be within have no worse rest than I have, nor casteth more jeopardy; but whether I had good tidings or ill, I take God to witness, that I have done my devoir as I would be done for in case like, and shall do till there be an end of it.

I have sent to the king to York, and to the lords, and hope to have answer from them by Wednesday at the furthest, and after that answer shall I be ruled, and then send you word, for till that time can I take none direction; and to encomfort you, despair you not for lack of victuals nor of gunpowder, nor be not too heavy nor too merry therefore; for and heaviness or sorrow would have been the remedy thereof, I knew never matter in my life that I could have been so heavy or sorry for, and with God's grace it shall be remedied well enough, for by my troth I had lever lose the manor of Caister than the simplest man's life therein if that may be his salvation; wherefore I beseech you to send me word what money and men ye think that I am like to get in that country; for the hasty purchase of money and men shall be the getting and rescue of it, and the salvation of most men's lives, if we take that way.

Also, this day I purpose to send to York to the king for a thing, which same only may by likelihood be the salvation of all; ye must remember that the rescue of it is the last remedy of all, and how it is not easy to get; and also ye send me word that I should not come home without that I come strong, but if I had had one other strong place in Norfolk to have come to, though I had brought right few with me, I should with God's grace have rescued it by this time, or else he should have been fain to have besieged both places ere yet, and the duke had not kept Yarmouth out: but, mother, I beseech you send me some money, for by my troth I have but ten shillings; I wot not where to have more; and moreover I have been ten times in like case, or worse, within this ten weeks.

I sent to Richard Calle for money, but he sendeth me none; I beseech you to guide the evidence that Peacock can tell you of, and to see it safe, for it is told me that Richard Calle hath had right large language of them; I would not they come in his fingers: I have no word from you of them, nor whether ye have yet in your keeping the evidence of East Beckham out of his hands, nor whether ye have sent to my manors that they should not pay him no more money or not; also that it like you to give credence to Robin in other things.

Written the Friday next after Holy Rood day.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Friday,
15th of September, 1469.
9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXIII.—SIR JOHN EXHORTS HIS BROTHER JOHN

This letter is written by Sir John Paston to his brother John Paston, to encourage him to hold out Caister Castle as long as he has hopes of relief: he tells him of the good opinion which is entertained of the courage and conduct of those in the place, but that those who besiege it are mentioned in a very different manner. The letter is curious, and written in a style to give both spirits and hope to the besieged.

To John Paston, and to none other.

I RECOMMEND me to you, and promise you that I have and shall labour and find the mean that ye shall have honour of your dealing, as ye have hithertowards, as all England and every man reporteth; and moreover I am in way for it by many divers ways, whereof there shall be one executed by this day fortnight at the furthest, and peradventure within seven days; and if ye may keep it so long I would be glad, and after that if ye have not from me other writing, that then ye do therein for your safeguard and your fellowship only and to your worships; and as for the place, no force therefore; ye know this hand, therefore needeth no mention from whom it cometh; and moreover they that be about you be in obloquy of all men; and moreover they have been written to by as special writing as might be, after the world that now is, and promise you that the Duke's counsel would that they had never begun it; and moreover they be charged in pain of their lives that though they get the place they should not hurt one of you; there is neither ye nor none with you, but, and he knew what is generally reported of him, he or ye, and God fortune you well, may think him four times better in reputation of all folk than ever he was.

Beware whom ye make a counsel to this matter.

Also, I let you weet that I am in much more comfort of you than I may write, and they that be about you have cause to be more ferde (*afraid*) than ye have; and also beware of spending of your stuff of quarrels (*square-headed arrows*), powder, and stone (*stone bullets*), so that if they assault you ere we come that ye have stuff to defend you of over, and then of my life ye get no more; and that your fellowship be ever occupied in renewing of your stuff.

Written the Monday next after Holy Rood day.

I trow, though ye be not privy thereto, there is taken a truce new till this day sev'nnight.

Monday, 18th of September,
1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXIV.—A MOTHER'S COUNSELS

To Sir John Paston in haste, a matre.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine, letting you weet that methink by the letter that ye sent me by Robin that ye think that I should write to you fables and imaginations, but I do not so, I have written as it have been informed me, and will do: it was told me that both Daubeney and Berney were dead; but for certain Daubeney is dead, God assoil his soul! whereof I am right sorry, and it had pleased God that it might have been otherwise.

Remember you, ye have had two great losses within this twelvemonth of him and of Sir Thomas. God visiteth you as it pleaseth him in sundry wises: he would ye should know him and serve him better than ye have done before this time, and then he will send you the more grace to do well in all other things; and for God's love remember it right well, and take it patiently, and thank God of his visitation; and if anything have been amiss, any otherwise than it ought to have been before this, either in pride, or in lavish expenses, or in any other thing that have offended God, amend it, and pray him of his grace and help, and intend well to God and to your neighbours; and though your power hereafter be to acquit [*requite*] them of their malice, yet be merciful to them, and God shall send you the more grace to have your intent in other things. I remember these clauses because of the last letter that ye sent me. I have sent to Harry Halman, of Sporle, to help to get as ye desired me, and he cannot

get past five or eight at the most, and yet it will not be but if he come that [*they*] ye trust upon that should come, for they long (*belong*) apart to him; and Richard Sharman hath assayed on his part, and he cannot get past five; for those that long to us, they long also to our adversaries, and they have been desired by them, and they would nought do for them, and therefore they think to have magery (*q. management*) of the other part.

As for the gentleman that ye desired me to speak with, I spake with his wife, and she told me he was not in this country nor nought wist when he should be here; and as for the other man, he has bought him a livery in Bromholm priory, and have given up the world, &c.

Item, as for money I could get but ten pounds upon pledges, and that is spent for your matters here, for paying of your men that were at Caister, and other things, and I wot not where to get none, neither for surety nor for pledges; and as for mine own livelihood, I am so simply paid thereof that I fear me I shall be fain to borrow for myself or else to break up household; or both.

As for the yielding of the place at Caister, I trow Writtill hath told of the pawntements (*appointments*) how it is delivered. I would that had been so ere this time, and then there should not have been done so mickle hurt as there is in divers ways, for many of our well-willers are put to loss for our sakes, and I fear me it shall be long ere it be recompensed again, and that shall cause others to do the less for us hereafter.

I would ye should (*send*) your brother word, and some other that ye trust, to see to your own livelihood to set it in a rule, and to gather thereof that may be had in haste; and also of Sir John Fastolf's livelihood that may be gathered in peaceable wise, for as for Richard Calle he will no more gather it but if ye command him, and he would fain make his account, and have your good mastership, as it is told me, and deliver the evidence of Beckham and all other things that longeth to you, that he trusteth that ye will be his good master hereafter; and he saith he will not take none new master till ye refuse his service.

Remember that your livelihood may be set in such a rule that ye may know how it is, and what is owen to you, for by my faith I have holpen as much as I may and more, saving myself, and therefore take heed ere it be worse.

This letter was begun on Friday was sev'nnight, and ended this day next after Michaelmas day. God keep you, and give you grace to do as well as I would ye did, and I charge you

beware that ye set no land to mortgage, for if any advise you thereto they are not your friends; beware betimes mine advice, &c.: I trow your brother will give you tidings in haste.

MARGARET PASTON.

Begun Friday, 22nd of September,
ended Saturday, 30th September,
1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXV.—LETTER TO THE BESIEGERS

This is the only letter written to the besiegers which appears in this collection, and the writer of this cannot be ascertained: he seems, however, to be a well-wisher to the Pastons by what he says in his letter of the opinion of the lords on this business, who likewise appear favourable to them. He seems to hint that the extremity to which things are carried is more the fault of these captains to whom the letter is addressed than that of the Duke of Norfolk, who "is noted so well disposed."

(To) Sir John Hevengham,¹ Thomas Wingfield,² Gilbert Debenham,³ William Brandon,⁴ and every of them severally in others absence.

It is so that, according to such direction as was moved to be desired of my lords being here as for such as here be, they marvel greatly thereof, thinking and remembering in themselves that such offer as was made by my credence to my lord, and tofore you reported, should have sounded more to his pleasure and honour than this his desire; nevertheless my lords think whereas they wrote and desired jointly that such credence, as ye remember, might be observed and taken, and by you refused; now if they should assent to the desire of this direction, it is thought in them not so to do, for it is so fortunéd that divers of my lords, from whom I brought both writing and credence, be at the king's high commandment hastily departed unto his highness; trusting in God to have hearing in brief time of their hasty again coming, at which time my lords that here be, and they that shall come again, shall commune and speak together of this

¹ Sir John Heveningham, knight and banneret, was a descendant of an ancient family situated at the towns of Heveningham, in Suffolk; his son Thomas became owner of the estate at Ketteringham, in Norfolk, where this family continued for several generations.

² Sir Thomas Wingfield was a younger son either of Sir Robert or Sir John Wingfield, of Letheringham, in Suffolk.

³ Sir Gilbert Debenham, knight, was descended of an ancient family in the county of Suffolk.

⁴ Sir William Brandon married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield, and was ancestor to Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk.

desire and direction, and such answer as they give and make shall be sent unto you then with haste possible. Over this me thinketh for your excuse of burden and charge, such as I hear will be laid unto you concerning the great works that daily be and are at the manor of Caister, if ye think that God should have pleasure, and also the king our sovereign lord, and that my said lords should think in you good advice or sad, and that ye intended to avoid the shedding of Christian blood and the destruction of the king's liege people, that at your politic labour and wisdom ye might bring my lord to the abstinence of war, and a truce to be had and continued unto time of the return of my said lords, or else knowledge of their intent; certifying you for truth that there be messengers sent unto my said lords with letters of such answer as I had of you and your desire together, knowing certainly that there shall be hasty relation of their intents in the premises; which answers ye shall have at furthest by Monday cometh sev'nnight. Furthermore letting you weet that I understand for certain that my lords that be here eschew, for such inconvenience that might fall, to conclude any answer by themselves, considering that my credence was given by all the lords, praying you, as shall be done to the continuance of this truce aforesaid, that I may be ascertained; or if at this hour ye could yet think my credence reasonable and honourable to be accepted and taken, send me word in writing from you by my servant, bringer of this, all delays laid apart; for I ascertain [*assure*] you as he that owe you service, I was and yet am greatly blamed for my long tarrying with you, for divers of my lords tarried here for me, by the assent of all my lords, longer than they would have done, to know my answer and guiding from you; and over this I certify you that ye cannot make my lords here to think that if there be inconvenience or mischief, murder or man-slaughter, had or done, but and your wills and intents were to the contrary, my lord is noted so well disposed, that without your great abetment he neither will do nor assent to none such thing; praying you, therefore, as your friend, to remember well yourself, and so to rule you as my lords may have in time to come knowledge of your more sad (*grave*) disposition than as yet I feel they think in you; and how that my lords note some of you, James Hobart, being of my lord's counsel, can inform you, wherefore for God's sake remember you, and deliver my servant, and if ye think my first credence or this advertisement shall be taken to effect, then I pray you that my servant, bringer hereof, may have sure conduct to speak

with John Paston, and to report to him these directions, and upon that to deliver him a bill certifying the same.

London, September, 1469.
9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXVI.—CAISTER IS TO BE VACATED

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

WHERE(AS) John Paston, Esquire, and other diverse persons have, against the peace, kept the manor of Caister with force, against the will and intent of us the Duke of Norfolk to our great displeasure; which notwithstanding, at the contemplation of the writing of the most worshipful and reverend father in God the Cardinal of England, and our most trusty and entirely-beloved uncle the Archbishop of Canterbury, the right noble prince my Lord of Clarence, and other lords of our blood, and also at the great labour and instance of our most dear and singular-beloved wife, we be agreed that the said John Paston, and his said fellowship, being in the said manor, shall depart and go out of the said manor without delay, and make thereof deliverance to such persons as we will assign, the said fellowship having their lives and goods, horse and harness, and other goods being in the keeping of the said John Paston; except guns, cross-bows, and quarrels, and all other hostlements (*warlike implements*) to the said manor annexed and belonging; and to have fifteen days respite after their said departing out to go into what place shall like them, without any actions or quarrel to be taken or made by us or in our name to them or any of them, within our franchise or without, during the said time.

Given under our signet at Yarmouth the 26th day of September, the 9th year of King Edward the IVth.

NORFOLK.

Yarmouth, Tuesday,
26th of September, 1469.
9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXVII.—JOHN PASTON GIVES IN

Caister yielded. J. P.

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto you; and as for the certainty of the deliverance of Caister, John Chapman can tell you how that we were enforced thereto as well as myself;

as for John Chapman and his three fellows I have purveyed that they be paid each of them forty shillings with the money that they had of you and Daubeney; and that is enough for the season that they have done you service; I pray you give them their thank, for by my troth they have as well deserved it as any men that ever bore life; but as for money ye need not to give them without ye will, for they be pleased with their wages.

Wryttill promised me to send you the certainty of the appointment, we were for lack of victuals, gunpowder, men's hearts, lack of surety of rescue, driven thereto to take appointment.

If ye will that I come to you send me word and I shall purvey me for to tarry with you a two or three days; by my troth the rewarding of such folks as hath been with me during the siege, hath put me in great danger for the money; God preserve you, and I pray you be of good cheer till I speak with you, and I trust to God to ease your heart in some things.

JOHN PASTON.

September, 1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXVIII.—CARE FOR FAITHFUL SERVANTS

To my master, Sir John Paston, in Fleet-street.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend unto you; praying you that ye will in all haste send me word how that ye will that Sir John Styll, John Pampyng, William Milisent, Nicholas Maudent, T. Tomson shall be ruled, and whether that they shall seek them new services or not; and Matthew Bedford also, for he hath been with me this season, and is from my mother; and if so be that ye will have these to abide with you, or any of them, send word which that they be, for betwixt this and Hallowmas my mother is agreed that they shall have meat and drink of her for such a certain weekly as my mother and ye and I can accord when we meet, notwithstanding if ye could get Berney, or any of these said fellows which that ye will not keep, any service in the mean season, it were more worship for you than to put them from you like masterless hounds, for by my troth they are as good men's bodies as any alive, and specially Sir John Still and John Pampyng; and I were of power to keep them and all these before rehearsed, by troth they should never depart from me while I lived.

If ye send me word that I shall come to you to London for to commune with you of any matter, so God help me, I have

neither money to come up with nor for to tarry with you when I am there, but if ye send me some; for by my troth these works have caused me to lay out for you better than ten or twelve pounds, besides that money that I had of my mother, which is about an eight pound; God amend defaults, but this I warrant you, without that it be Matthew which ye sent word by John Thresher that ye would have to await on you, there is no man that was hired for the time of this siege that will ask you a penny.

Also, I pray you send down a commandment to Stutevylle, or to some auditor, to take accounts of Daubeney's bills, for his executors are sore called upon for to administer by the bishop, or else he saith that he will sequester; Daubeney set in his debts that ye owed him twelve pounds and ten shillings; whether it be so or not his bills of his own hands will not lie, for he made his bills clear or then the siege came about us. As for the evidence of Beckham, my mother sent to Calle for them, and he sent her word that he would make his accounts and deliver the evidence and all together.

My mother hath sent to him again for them this day; if she speed they shall be sent to you in all haste, or else and ye send for me I shall bring them with me. Send my mother and me word who ye will that (*shall*) have the rule of your livelihood here in this country, and in what form that it shall be dealt with. I will not make me masterfast with my Lord of Norfolk nor with none other till I speak with you; and ye think it be to be done get me a master.

Deal courteously with the queen and that fellowship, and with mistress Anne Hawte for wappys till I speak with you. Written on St. Faith's even.

JOHN PASTON.

By Saint George I and my fellowship stand in fear of my Lord of Norfolk's men, for we be threatened sore, notwithstanding the safeguards that my fellowship have; as for me I have none, nor none of your household men, nor none will have; it were shame to take it.

Thursday, 5th October, 1469.
9 E. IV.

LETTER CCLXXXIX.—TWO WIDOWS ARE TO SUE JOHN PASTON

Two men having been killed during the siege at Caister, the Duke of Norfolk's counsel instigate their widows to lodge an appeal for the murder against John Paston and others. An appeal is an accusation of a murderer by a person who had interest in the person killed, as the wife had interest in the life of her husband, and must be brought within a year and day after the fact committed; and in this appeal of death the king cannot pardon the defendant. The latter part of this letter contains Latin, French, and English, by which we may judge how liberally J. Paston had been educated. He seems likewise in good spirits though threatened with this appeal. [The appeal in cases of murder is now abolished.]

To Master Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, &c.; it is so that this day there came a good fellow to me which may not be discovered, and let me weet that my Lord of Norfolk's counsel hath this Christmas gotten the two widows, whose husbands were slain at the siege of Caister, and have them bounden in a great sum that they shall sue an appeal against me and such as were there with me within the place, and they be bound also that they shall release no man within the appeal named till such time as my Lord of Norfolk will license them.

Item, the cause is this, as it is told me by divers, that ye make no more suit to my lord for yourself than ye do, and therefore they do the worse to me for your sake.

Item, as for my coming up to London, so God help me, and I may choose I come not there for, argent me faut, without an appeal or an inkyr (*inquiry*) of some special matters of yours cause it. Item, I pray you remember Calais, for I am put out of wages in this country.

Item, I pray you send me some tidings how the world goeth ad confortandum stomachum.

Item, ye must purvey a new attorney in this country as for me, for our matters and clamour is too great and our purse and wit too slender; but I will rub on as long as I may both with mine own and other means that will do for me till better peace be. Written this Saturday at Norwich.

JOHN PASTON.

Saturday, December or January,
1469. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCXC.—JOHN PASTON TO HIS BROTHER SIR JOHN

The bargain with the archbishop was I suppose relative to the expenses attending the probate of the will, &c. It seems extraordinary that the Norfolk family should speak favourably of J. Paston, and yet pursue the appeal against him for murder. His device to interrupt the keeping of the court at Saxthorp deserves notice, and shows the plain dealing of the times.

To my right worshipful brother, Sir John Paston, Knight, be this delivered.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you in my best wise. Liketh it you to weet that I have this day delivered your mantle, your ray gown,¹ and your cross-bows with telers and windlass, and your Normandy bill, to Kerby, to bring with him to London.

Item, in any wise and ye can, ask the probate of my father's will to be given you with the bargain that ye make with my Lord of Canterbury, and I can think that ye may have it; and as soon as it is proved ye or I may have a letter of administration upon the same, and an acquittance of my lord cardinal even forthwith; and this were one of the best bargains that ye made this two year I assure you; and he may make you acquittance, or get you one of the Bishop of Winchester for Sir John Fastolf's goods also, and in my reason this were light to be brought about with the same bargain; and ye purpose to bargain with him ye had need to hie you, for it is told me that my Lord of Norfolk will enter into it hastily, and if he so do it is the worse for you, and it will cause them to proffer the less silver.

Item, I pray you send me some secret tidings of the likelihood of the world by the next messenger that cometh between, that I may be either merrier or else more sorry than I am, and also that I may guide me thereafter.

Item, as for Sir Robert Wingfield, I can get no ten pounds of him, but he saith that I shall have the fairest harness that I can buy in London for silver, but money can I none get.

I cannot yet make my peace with my Lord of Norfolk nor my lady by no means, yet every man telleth me that my lady saith passingly well of me always; notwithstanding I trow that they will sue the appeal this term, yet there is no man of us indicted, but if (*unless*) it were done afore the coroners ere then we came out of the place; there is now but three men in it, and the bridges

¹ This means a gown made of cloth that was never either coloured or dyed.

always drawn. No more, but God lāt you mine her.¹ Written the Tuesday next after Saint Agnes the first.²

JOHN PASTON.

Item, yesterday W. Gornay entered into Saxthorp, and there was he keeping of a court, and had the tenants attorned to him; but ere the court was all done I came thither with a man with me and no more, and there, before him and all his fellowship, Gayne, Bomsted, &c. I charged the tenants that they should proceed no further in their court upon pain that might fall of it; and they letted for a season, but they saw that I was not able to make my party good, and so they proceeded further: I saw that, and sat me down by the steward, and blotted his book with my finger as he wrote, so that all the tenants affirmed that the court was interrupted by me as in your right, and I requested them to record that there was no peaceable court kept, and so they said they would.

Tuesday, 23rd January,
1469-70. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCI.—THE WIDOW'S APPEAL AGAINST JOHN PASTON

To John Paston, Esq., be this delivered.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet that the woman that sueth the appeal³ against your brother and his men is come to London to call thereupon, and when that she should come to London there was delivered her an hundred shillings for to sue with, so that, by that I hear in this country, she will not leave it, but that she shall call thereupon (*at*) such time as shall be to your most rebuke but if ye lay the better watch; she hath evil counsel, and that will see you greatly uttered (*outed or displayed*), and that ye may understand by the money that was taken her (*given her*) when she

¹ This sentence I wish to have explained.

² The festival of St. Agnes the first (and the most noted of the two) was kept on the 21st of January; her second festival was on the 28th of the same month, which it is to be observed was not the octave of the former, but a distinct feast upon a different occasion, and it is sometimes written "Agnētis Nativitas"; but it was on account of a miracle wrought at her tomb that this second feast was instituted.

³ [Two men were killed of the Duke of Norfolk's party; and the finding of the coroner's inquest, though asserted to be invalid, was unfavourable to the Pastons. But we hear of no trial preceding the appeals or appeal, for though appeals are talked of, there appears to have been actually but one.]

came up, and ye should find it, I know it well, if they might have you at advantage; therefore for God's sake make diligent search by the advice of your counsel, that there be no negligence in you in this matter nor other for default of labour, and call upon your brother, and tell him that I send him God's blessing and mine, and desire him that he will now awhile, while he hath the lords at his intent, that he seek the means to make an end of his matters, for his enemies are greatly couraged now of late; what is the cause I know not.

Also I pray you speak to Playters that there may be found a mean that the sheriff or the gatherer of the green-wax¹ may be discharged of certain issues that ran up on Fastolf for Maryot's matter, for the bailiff was at him this week, and should have distrained him, but that he promised him that he should within this eight days labour the means that he should be discharged, or else he must content him, &c.

Also I send you by the bearer hereof closed in this letter, five shillings of gold, and pray you to buy me a sugar-loaf, and dates, and almonds, and send it me home, and if ye beware (*lay out*) any more money, when ye come home I shall pay it you again; the Holy Ghost keep you both, and deliver you of your enemies. Written on Saint Agas (*Agatha's*) day in haste.

Item, I pray you speak to Master Roger for my syrup; for I had never more need thereof, and send it me as hastily as ye can.

By

MARGARET PASTON.

Monday, 5th of February,
1469-70. 9 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCII.—PRICE OF HORSE HARNESS

John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, retaining his loyalty to the House of Lancaster, in whose cause his father and elder brother had lost their heads upon the scaffold in 1461-2, and for whose sake he himself had suffered a long imprisonment, seems now privately to be preparing to join the Earl of Warwick in favour of the deposed King Henry. I should suppose this letter to have been written either in July, 1469, at the time that the Earl of Warwick and his adherents were meditating the plan for dethroning Edward, or in 1470, when they had come to a resolution of reinstating Henry on the throne. The order to Sir John Paston, for providing the horse-harness, was to be executed, "*as it were for himself*," and the referring him to the countess for money shows it to be at a time when his finances were very low. The expression "*yet she must borrow it*" implies too that his lady had not already the money, but that she had it *still* to procure. Though

¹ Estreats delivered to the sheriff out of the Exchequer, to be levied in his county under the seal of that court, made in green wax, were from thence called green-wax.

the earl desired that his horse-harness might be of the same price with one which Lord Hastings had purchased, yet he wished it not to be like his; the reason seems to be, he did not choose to appear with caparisons similar to those of a Yorkist. The words "I trust to God we shall do right well" refer to some scheme then in agitation, and on the success of which he had placed great confidence.

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful, and my especial true-hearted friend, I commend me unto you, praying you to ordain (*order for*) me three horses' harness as goodly as ye and Genyns can devise as it were for yourself; and that I may have them in all haste order; also Skern saith ye would ordain two standard staves; this I pray you to remember, and my wife shall deliver you silver, and yet she must borrow it. Six or seven pounds I would bestow on a horse-harness; and so Skern told me I might have. The Lord Hastings had for the same price, but I would not mine were like his: and I trust to God we shall do right well, who preserve you. Written at Canterbury in haste, the 18th day of July.

OXYNFORD.

Canterbury,
18th of July, 1469 or 1470.
9 or 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCIII.—OF LADIES, ORANGES, AND TURKS

To John Paston, Esquire, being at Norwich, be this letter delivered.

I COMMEND me to you, letting you weet, &c.

Item, as for Mistress Katherine Dudley I have many times recommended you to her, and she is nothing displeased with it; she rekkythe not how many gentlemen love her, she is full of love; I have betyn (*enforced*) the matter for you, your unknowledge (*without your knowledge*) as I told her; she answered me that she would (*have*) no one this two years, and I believe her: for I think she hath the life that she can hold her content with. I trow she will be a sore labouring woman this two years for the meed of her soul.

And Mistress Gryseacress is sure to Selenger (*St. Leger*), with my Lady of Exeter,¹ a foul loss.

Item, I pray you speak with Harcourt of the abbey, for a little clock, which I sent him by James Gresham to mend, and

¹ Anne, daughter of Richard Duke of York, and sister of King Edward IV., married Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, and in 1462 had possession of his forfeited estates, and remained with her brother, Edward IV. She afterwards married Sir Thomas St. Leger, and died in 1475.

that ye would get it of him, and it be ready, and send it me; and as for money for his labour, he hath another clock of mine, which Sir Thomas Lyndes, God have his soul! gave me; he may keep that till I pay him; this clock is my lord archbishop's, but let not him weet of it, and that it (*be*) easily carried hither by your advice.

Also as for oranges I shall send you a serteyn by the next carrier, and as for tidings the bearer hereof shall inform you; ye must give credence to him.

As for my good speed, I hope well, I am offered yet to have Mistress Anne Hawte, and I shall have help enough as some say.

Item, it is so that I am half in purpose to come home within a month hereafter, or about Midlent, or before Easter, under your correction, if so be that ye deem that my mother would help me to my costs, ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) or thereabouts. I pray you feel her disposition and send me word.

Item, I cannot tell you what will fall of the world, for the king verily is disposed to go into Lincolnshire, and men wot not what will fall thereof, nor thereafter, they ween my Lord of Norfolk shall bring 10,000 men.

Item, there is come a new little Turk, which is a well-visaged fellow of the age of forty years; and he is lower than Manuel by an handful, and lower than my little Tom by the shoulders, and more little above his pap; and he hath, as he said to the king himself, three or four children (*sons*), each one of them as high and as likely as the king himself; and he is legged right enough.

Item, I pray you show, or read to my mother, such things as ye think are for her to know after your discretion; and to let her understand of the article of the treaty between Sir William Yelverton and me.

Item, my Lord of Warwick, as it is supposed, shall go with the king into Lincolnshire; some men say that his going shall do good, and some say that it doth harm.

I pray you ever have an eye to Caister, to know the rule there, and send me word, and whether my wise lord and my lady be yet as sotted upon it as they were; and whether my said lord resorteth thither as often as he did or not; and of the disposition of the country.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

LETTER CCXCIV.—THE ARCHBISHOP SENDS 20*l.* ON ACCOUNT

This letter, from George Nevile, Archbishop of York, and brother to Richard Earl of Warwick, must have been written either when he was in opposition to Edward in conjunction with his brother the Earl of Warwick, or after his return from his imprisonment abroad not long before his death, when it is probable he found it difficult to raise even a small sum of money. George Nevile was consecrated Bishop of Exeter in 1455, when he was not completely twenty years of age. In 1460 he was appointed Lord Chancellor, and in 1466 advanced to the Archbishopric of York. In 1470 he had the custody of Edward IV. when taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick, and died in 1476, æt. 41.

To my right trusty and well-beloved Sir John Paston.

IHS.

RIGHT trusty and well beloved, I greet you heartily well, and send you by Thomas your child 20*l.* praying you to spare me as for any more at this time, and to hold you content with the same, as my singular trust is in you; and I shall within brief time ordain and purvey for you such as shall be unto your pleasure with the grace of Almighty God, who have you in his protection and keeping.

Written in the manor of the Moor,¹ the 7th day of May.

G. EBORAC.

The Moor, in Hertfordshire,
7th of May, between 1466
and 1476. 6 and 16 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCV.—SEVERE RULE OF KING EDWARD

This letter was written a short time after the battle of Stamford, wherein Edward was victorious, having slain and dispersed the forces commanded by Sir Robert Welles, who in this engagement had fought most furiously, being exasperated at the recent death of his father the Lord Welles. We are here acquainted with the movements of the king after his victory, and with some of the executions which took place by his order on those who had opposed him. [After the quarrel of Edward IV. with Warwick his rule became much more severe and sanguinary than it had been. A proof that the previous moderation was owing, as it is usually asserted, to the counsels of Warwick.]

To my cousin, John Paston.

THE king came to Grantham, and there tarried Thursday² all day, and there was headed Sir Thomas Delalaunde and one John Neille, a great captain; and upon the Monday³ next after that at Doncaster, and there was headed Sir Robert Welles and another great captain; and then the king had word that the Duke

¹ In Hertfordshire, a seat of the archbishop's.

² 15th March, 1469.

³ 19th March, 1469.

of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick was at Easterfield,¹ twenty miles from Doncaster; and upon the Tuesday,² at nine of the bell, the king took the field, and mustered his people; and it was said, that (*there*) were never seen in England so many goodly men and so well arrayed in a field; and my lord³ was worshipfully accompanied, no lord there so well; wherefore the king gave my lord a great thank.

And than (*when*) the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick heard that the king was coming to themward, incontinent they departed, and went to Manchester in Lancashire, hoping to have had help and succour of the Lord Stanley;⁴ but in conclusion there they had little favour, as it was informed the king; and so men say they went westward, and some men deem to London.

And when the king heard they were departed and gone, he went to York, and came thither the Thursday⁵ next after, and there came into him all the gentlemen of the shire; and upon our Lady-day⁶ (*he*) made Percy Earl of Northumberland, and he that was earl⁷ afore Marquis Montague; and so the king is purposed to come southward; God send him good speed.

Written the 27th day of March.

FOR TRUTH.⁸

Tuesday, 27th of March, 1470.
10 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCVI.—THE WIDOWS' APPEAL ONCE MORE
To Sir John Paston, Knight, or to Thomas Stomps, to deliver to the said Sir John.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, and my special good brother, I recommend me to you; and forasmuch as I cannot send you good tidings ye shall have such as I know.

It is so, that on Wednesday last past ye and I, Pampyng, and Edmund Broom were indicted of felony at the sessions here

¹ [Probably Austerfield; but this is not half the distance here stated from Doncaster.]

² 20th March, 1469.

³ John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

⁴ Thomas Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.

⁵ 22nd March, 1469.

⁶ 25th March, 1470. N.B. The date changed on the 25th of March, yearly.

⁷ John Nevile, brother to the Earl of Warwick; by this advancement in honour we must suppose that the king had no suspicion of the loyalty of the marquis. I have been more particular in ascertaining the dates of the occurrences in this letter, as they differ from some of those in our historians.

⁸ The name of the writer is not put to this letter, but at the end, in a hand of the time, though in a different one from that used in the letter, is written "for trowyth."

in Norwich, for shooting off a gun at Caister, in August last past, which gun slew two men, I, Pampyng, and Broom as principal, and ye as accessory, notwithstanding Townshend and Lomner hold an opinion that the verdict is void, for there were two of the inquest that would not agree to the indictment, and inasmuch as they two were agreed in other matters and not in that, and that they two were not discharged from the remnant at such time as that verdict of your indictment was given, their opinion is that all the verdict is void, as well of all other matters as of yours; whether their opinion be good or not I cannot determine, nor themselves neither.

I pray you let not this matter be slept, for I can think that my Lord of Norfolk's counsel will cause the widows to take an appeal, and to remove it up into the King's Bench at the beginning of this term; Townshend hath promised me that he shall be at London on Tuesday next coming, and then ye may commune with him in that matter, and take his advice.

Item, Townshend and Lomner think that and ye have good counsel, ye may justify the keeping of the place for the peaceable possession that ye have had in it more than three year; but in conclusion, all this is done for nought else but for to enforce you to take a direction with my Lord of Norfolk.

I understood by R. Southwell, for he and I communed in this matter right largely betwixt him and me, insomuch he telleth me that and I be at London in the week next after St. Peter, at which time he shall be there himself, he saith that my lady hath promised me her good ladyship, and sent me word by him, inasmuch as he spake for me to her, that she would remember mine old service, and forget the great displeasure, in such wise that I shall understand that the suit that I have made to my lord, her husband, and her, shall turn to your advantage and mine more than we ween as yet or shall understand till such time as I have spoken with her good grace; and upon this promise I have promised Southwell to meet with him at London that same week next after St. Peter; wherefore I would passingly fain that ye were in London at that season, or nigh about London, so that I might understand at your place where that I might speak with you or them (*before*)¹ I speak with my lady.

I purpose to go to Canterbury² on foot this next week with God's grace, and so to come to London from thence.

¹ [In the original—*or then I spek, &c.*—which is clearly *ere then I speak, &c.*]

² On pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, I suppose.

I pray you see that I be safe for Parker's and Harry Collett's matter.

Southwell¹ told me this, that if so be that ye will yourself, ye shall have both good lordship and ladyship, and money, or lands, or both, and all your matters set clear; what that he meaneth I cannot say.

As for all other matters in this country, I shall do as well as I may for fault of money till I speak with you: I have many collars on as I shall tell you when I come.

No more, but God preserve you and yours; written at Norwich, Friday next after Corpus Christi day.

JOHN PASTON.

I did as much as I could to have let the indictments, but it would not be, as I shall inform you, and Townshend knoweth the same.

Norwich, Friday,
22nd of June, 1470. 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCVII.—OF THE SAME MATTER

To Sir John Paston, Knight, or to Thomas Stomps, to deliver to the said Sir John.

As I sent you word, by a letter that John Wymondham brought to London, J. Pampyng is indicted of felony, and Edmund Broom, as principals, and ye as accessory, for shooting off a gun in August last past, which gun killed two men, and I trow that my Lord of Norfolk's counsel will make one of the widows or both to sue an appeal upon the same indictment this term, wherefore I pray you see well to this matter, that when it is certified into the King's Bench, Broom and Pampyng may have warning that they may purvey for themselves if there come any *capias* out for them; Townshend can tell you all the matter.

Also, ye must in any wise beware, for my grandam,² and mine Lady Anne,³ and mine uncle William, shall be at London within these eight or ten days; and I wot well it is for nought else but to make mine uncle William sure of her land, notwithstanding she hath reared (*levied*) a fine of it before Goodred,⁴ the justice,

¹ Richard Southwell, Esq., of Wood-Rising; he acquired this estate by marrying Amy, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edmund Wichingham, knight.

² Agnes, widow of Sir W. Paston, the judge.

³ Anne, daughter of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, married William Paston, the uncle of Sir John Paston.

⁴ William Goodrede was created a serjeant-at-law in 1425, in 1431 he was appointed king's serjeant, and in 1424 became a justice of the King's Bench.

in my grandfather's days; and my mother telleth me that ye have the copy of the same fine, I would advise you to have it ready whatsoever betide; I trow they will be the more busy about the same matter, because they think that ye dare not come in London nor at Westminster to let them, but if so be that ye have not the copy of the same fine, look that ye spare for no cost to do (*make*) search for it, for it will stand you on hand I feel by the working.

This day sev'nnight I trust to God to be forward to Canterbury at the farthest, and upon Saturday come sev'nnight I trust to be in London, wherefore I pray you leave word at your place in Fleet-street where I shall find you, for I purpose not to be seen in London till I have spoken with you.

I pray you remember these matters, for all is done to make you to draw to an end with these lords that have your land from you. No more, but I pray God send you your heart's desire in these matters and in all others. Written at Norwich, the Monday next after St. John Baptist.

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Monday,
25th of June, 1470. 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCVIII.—COPIES OF KING EDWARD'S LETTERS

These letters of King Edward were copied, and the copies appear to have been sent inclosed immediately to the person to whom the letter containing them was directed. The letters were written by the king in 1470, either immediately before he was taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick, or soon after his escape and re-assuming the government, when a conference was held at Westminster under a safe-conduct; or (which is most probable) they were written at the time that the king had ordered his forces to rendezvous at Nottingham, in order to oppose Warwick; when, on the earl's approach, he retreated, and marched for Lynn, in Norfolk, from whence he embarked for Holland. The date will not coincide with the time as fixed by our historians. The letters are short and concise, but contain everything the writer intended, and, as royal letters, are certainly curious.

These three letters underwritten, the king of his own hand wrote unto my Lords of Clarence, Warwick, and Archbishop of York. The credence whereof in substance was, that every of them should in such peaceable wise, as they have be (*been*) accustomed to ride, come unto his highness.

Rex Edwardus, to our brother of Clarence.

BROTHER, we pray you to give faith and credence to our well-beloved Sir Thomas Montgomery¹ and Morice Berkley² in

¹ Sir Thomas Montgomery had a command at the battle of Barnet, and was a Knight of the Garter.

² Maurice Berkeley was second son of James Lord Berkeley, and in great favour with King Edward. He succeeded his brother William as Lord Berkeley in 1491, and died in 1506.

that on our behalf they shall declare to you; and we trust ye will dispose you according to our pleasure and commandment; and ye shall be to us right welcome. At Nottingham the 9th day of July.

To our cousin the Earl of Warwick.

COUSIN, we greet you well, and pray you to give faith and credence to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Morice Berkley (in that on our behalf they shall declare to you); and we ne trust that ye should be of any such disposition towards us, as the rumour here runneth, considering the trust and affection we bear in you. At Nottingham the 9th day of July. And cousin ne (*do not*) think but ye shall be to us welcome.

To our cousin the Archbishop of York.

COUSIN, we pray you that ye will, according to the promise ye made us, come to us as soon as ye goodly may; and that give credence to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Morice Berkley in that on our behalf they shall say to you; and ye shall be to us welcome. At Nottingham the 9th day of July.

Nottingham, 9th of July,
1470. 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCXCIX.—CAISTER SETTLED AT LAST

Under the direction of this letter is written in a hand of the time "A^o x^o," which, I suppose, means the 10 E. IV., and accordingly I have so dated this letter, though, had it not been for this memorandum, I should have placed it after that of Sir John Paston to John Paston, Esq., dated 3rd of February, 1472-3, 12 E. IV., and to which I refer the reader, as likewise to the letter dated between 8th and 9th November, 1472, 12 E. IV. No. cccxxxi. and cccxxvi.

To my master, Sir John Paston, Knight, be this delivered.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, thanking you most heartily of your great cost which ye did on me at my last being with you at London; which to my power I will recompense you with the best service that lyeth in me to do for your pleasure while my wits be my own.

Sir, as for the matter of Caister,¹ it hath been moved to my

¹ The estate and the hall at Caister were part of the possessions of Sir John Fastolf, knight. John Paston, father of Sir John, was one of his executors, by which means the Pastons got into possession of this seat, &c. The right of possessing it was disputed both by the Duke of Norfolk and by King Edward IV., the former in 1469 laying a regular siege to it; the Pastons had at last quiet possession.

lady's good grace by the Bishop of Winchester,¹ as well as he could imagine to say it considering the little leisure that he had with her; and he told me that he had right an agreeable answer of her; but what his answer was he would not tell me; then I asked him what answer I should send you, inasmuch as ye made me a solicitor to his lordship for that matter; then he bade me, that, under counsel, I should send you word that her answer was more to your pleasure than to the contrary; which ye shall have more plain knowledge of this next term, at which time both my lord and she shall be at London.

The bishop came to Framlingham on Wednesday at night, and on Thursday by ten of the clock before noon my young lady was christened, and named Anne;² the bishop christened it and was godfather both; and within two hours and less after the christening was do, my Lord of Winchester departed towards Waltham. (*Then follows the substance of a conversation between the Lady of Norfolk and Thomas Davers, wherein she promises to be a friend to Sir John Paston concerning Caister, but T. Davers swore J. Paston not to mention her good will to any person except to Sir John.*) And I let you plainly weet I am not the man I was; for I was never so rough in my master's conceit as I am now, and that he told me himself before Richard Southwell, Tymperley, Sir W. Brandon, and twenty more, so that they that loved not laughed upon me; no more but god look (*q. good luck*).

Written at Framlingham the Friday next after that I departed from you. This day my lord is towards Walsingham, and commanded me to overtake him to-morrow at the farthest.

J. PASTON.

Framlingham, Friday, 1470.
10 E. IV.

LETTER CCC.—THE COUNTRY IS UNQUIET

To J. Paston, &c.

BROTHER, I commend me to you, &c. (*Here follows an order about searching for some writings, &c.*) Also tell John Pampyng that the maid at the Bull at Cludey's at Westminster, sent me

¹ William de Wainfleet, or Patten, was a firm adherent to the House of Lancaster; and notwithstanding that, continued Bishop of Winchester from 1447 to 1486.

² Anne, daughter and heir of John Mowbray, the last Duke of Norfolk of that name. She was married in 1477 (being quite a child) to Richard Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., who on this marriage was created Duke of Norfolk, &c.

on a time, by him, to the Moor, a ring of gold to a token, which I had not of him; wherefore I would that he should send it hither, for she must have it again or else 5s. for it was not hers. Item, I pray you be ready, the matter quickeneth both for you and yours, as well as for us and ours.

As for tidings, my lord archbishop¹ is at the Moor, but there is beleft with him diverse of the king's servants; and as I understand he hath licence to tarry there till he be sent for. There be many folks up in the north, so that Percy² is not able to resist them; and so the king hath sent for his feodmen to come to him, for he will go to put them down; and some say that the king should come again to London, and that in haste; and as it is said Courtneys³ be landed in Devonshire, and there rule.

Item, that the Lords Clarence and Warwick⁴ will assay to land in England every day as folks fear.

I pray you let not John Mylsent be long from me, with as much as can be gathered; and also that ye write to me of all things that I have written to you for, so that I may have answer of everything.

Other things Batchelor Walter, bearer hereof, shall inform you. Written at London, the Sunday next before Saint Lawrence's day.⁵

Also my brother Edmund is not yet remembered; he hath not to live with, think on him, &c.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Sunday,
5th of August, 1470. 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCCI.—COMMANDS FROM KING EDWARD

This warrant, under the king's signature and privy seal, seems to have been issued in 1470, after the escape of Edward from his confinement at Middleham Castle, and after his having defeated the Lord Welles near Stamford, when the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, retiring into France, were reconciled to Queen Margaret, and, aided by Lewis XI., meditated an invasion of England in favour of Henry VI. This invasion they accomplished, and landed at Dartmouth in September: on their march they daily increased in numbers, when Edward, on their approach towards him and proclaiming Henry VI., was seized with such a panic that, retreating towards the sea-shore on the Norfolk coast, he embarked

¹ This must mean George Nevile, Archbishop of York, and brother to the Earl of Warwick, who seems to have been suspected by the king, and left at the Moor as a kind of state prisoner.

² Henry Percy, the lately created Earl of Northumberland.

³ The Courtneys were late Earls of Devonshire.

⁴ These noblemen landed about the beginning of the month following.

⁵ St. Laurence's day is the 10th of August.

aboard a small vessel, and after several escapes from corsairs, &c., he landed safely in Holland, when Henry for a few months reascended the throne. A William Swan is mentioned in Letter ccccv.; but whether he is the same person here addressed does not appear.

To our well-beloved William Swan, Gentleman.

REX EDWARDUS. BY THE KING.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well, and forsomuch as we be credibly ascertained that our ancient enemies of France, and our outward rebels and traitors, be drawn together in accord, and intend hastily to land in our county of Kent or in the parts thereof near adjoining, with great might and power of Frenchmen utterly to destroy us and our true subjects and to subvert the common weal of the same our realm.

We straitly charge and command you, upon the faith and liegeance that ye bear unto us, that ye arredie (*make ready*) you with all the fellowship ye can make; and as soon as ye may understand that they land in our said county or nearby, that ye draw thither, as we have commanded other our subjects to do, and put you in uttermost devoir, with them to resist the malice of our said enemies and traitors; and if they and ye be not of power so to do, that then ye draw you to our city of London, by which time we trust to be there in our person or nearby; and if we be not that, that then ye do farther all ye shall be commanded by our council there, upon the pain above said.

Given under our signet, at our city of York, the seventh day of September.

York, Friday,
7th of September, 1470.
10 E. IV.

LETTER CCCII.—HENRY VI. HAS BEEN RESTORED

This letter was written after the flight of Edward, and very soon after the restoration of Henry VI. to the throne. Sir John Paston, and his brother John Paston, the writer of this letter, had been and still were of the household of the Duke of Norfolk, but were now making their court to the Earl of Oxford; and hoped by his favour to have appointments under this new government, which took place the beginning of October. [This letter is a curious specimen of the rapidity and facility with which changes took place, even among the great political characters of the time, and the subservience of the Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Oxford is very strikingly marked.]

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston, be this delivered.

AFTER humble and most due recommendation, as lowly as I can I beseech you of your blessing. Please it you to weet, that, blessed be God, my brother and I be in good hele; and I trust

that we shall do right well in all our matters hastily; for my Lady of Norfolk¹ hath promised to be ruled by my Lord of Oxford² in all such matters as belong to my brother and to me; and as for my Lord of Oxford, he is better lord to me, by my truth, than I can wish him in many matters; for he sent to my Lady of Norfolk by John Bernard only for my matter, and for none other cause, mine on weeting (*forgetting*),³ or without any prayer of me, for when he sent to her I was at London and he at Colchester, and that is a likelihood he remembered me.

The Duke and the Duchess sue to him as humbly as ever I did to them; insomuch that my Lord of Oxford shall have the rule of them and theirs, by their own desires and great means.

As for the offices that ye wrote to my brother for and to me, they be for no poor men; but I trust we shall speed of other offices meetly for us. For my master the Earl of Oxford biddeth me ask and have. I trow (*think*) my brother Sir John shall have the constablenesship of Norwich Castle, with 20*l.* of fee; all the lords be agreed to it.

Tidings, the Earl of Worcester⁴ is like to die this day, or to-morrow at the farthest; John Pilkington, M. W. at Clyff, and Fowler, are taken, and in the castle of Pomfret, and are like to die hastily without they be dead. Sir Thomas Montgomery and Joudone be taken, what shall fall of them I cannot say.

The Queen⁵ that was, and the Duchess of Bedford,⁶ be in sanctuary at Westminster; the Bishop of Ely,⁷ with other bishops are in Saint Martin's; when I hear more I shall send you more; I pray God send you all your desires. Written at London on Saint Edward's even.

Your son and humble servant,

J. PASTON.

London, Thursday,
11th of October, 1470.
10 E. IV. (49 H. VI.)

¹ John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; Elizabeth, daughter of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, Duchess of Norfolk.

² John de Vere, a firm friend to the House of Lancaster, and who, during the short exaltation of Henry, was amongst the first statesmen of that party. He died 10th of March, 1412, 4 H. VIII.

³ [*On weeting* is *unweeting*—without his knowledge.]

⁴ John Tiptoft, Lord Treasurer and Lord Constable, absconded on the departure of his royal master, but was taken in Weybridge Forest, in Huntingdonshire, concealed in a tree; and being brought to the Tower, was there beheaded upon a charge of cruelty, on the 18th of October, 1470.

⁵ Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV.

⁶ Jaqueline, of Luxemburgh, Duchess-dowager of Bedford, and widow of Sir Richard Widville or Woodville, mother to Elizabeth.

⁷ William Gray, a man of family and great learning, was placed in this see by Pope Nicholas V. in 1454. He was lord treasurer to Edward IV., and died in 1478.

Mother, I beseech you that Brome may be spoken to to gather up my silver at Guyton in all haste possible, for I have no money. Also that it like you, that John Milsent may be spoken to, to keep well my grey horse an he be alive, and that he spare no meat on him, and that he have cunning leeches to look to him. As for my coming home I know no certainty, for I tarry till my Lady of Norfolk come to go through with the matters, and she shall not be here till Sunday.

LETTER CCCIII.—THE WIDOW MARRIES AGAIN

We here see the various artifices that had been made use of to bring forward this appeal against the Pastons, and the pains that had been taken by those who seemed to have been their friends to distress them by it. The endeavours used to induce the widow to put herself under the Duke of Norfolk's protection, and to become his vassal under the different titles of waive and widow, are curious, and throw some light upon the feudal system. I do not exactly understand the sense in which the word weve or waive is used here, farther than it means to convey the idea of subjection. The widow, however, chose to be her own mistress in the second year, and to take another husband.

To his worshipful master, John Paston, Esquire.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I commend me to your good mastership, &c. Please it you to understand that Redford desired me, on your behalf, that I should go and commune with the woman that was the fuller's wife at South Walsham, which woman is now married to one Thomas Styward, dwelling in the parish of Saint Giles in Norwich; which woman said to me that she sued never the appeal, but that she was by subtle craft brought to the New Inn at Norwich, and there was Master Southwell, and he intreated her to be my lord's wewe (*waive*)¹ by the space of an whole year next following, and thereto he made her to be bound in an obligation; and when that year was past, he desired her to be my lord's widow another year; and then she said that she had lever lose that that she had done than to lose that and more, and therefore she said plainly that she would no more of that matter, and so she took her an husband, which is the said Thomas Styward; and she saith that it was full sore against her will that ever the matter went so far forth, for she had never none avail thereof but it was sued to her great labour and loss,

¹ [The original is *wewe*—may it not be meant for widow? If not, *waif* is used in its ordinary sense of a *stray* appertaining to the manorial lord, she having been deprived of her husband and natural protector, and thence, feudally, recurring to her lord.]

for she had never of my lord's counsel but barely her costs to London. No more, but God have you in his keeping. Written at Norwich, the Monday next after the feast of Saint Luke.

By your servant,
R. L.

Monday, 22nd of October,
1470. 10 E. IV.

LETTER CCCIV.—WAITING FOR MONEY AND HORSES

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston, at Mawteby.

RIGHT worshipful mother, after all humble recommendations, as lowly as I can I beseech you of your blessing. Please you to weet that late yesternight I came to Norwich, purposing to have been at this day with you at Mawteby, but it is so that I may not hold my purpose, for he that shall pay me my quarter wages¹ for me and my retinue is in Norwich, and waiteth hourly when his money shall come to him; it is one Edmund Bowen of the Exchequer, a special friend of mine, and he adviseth me to tarry till the money be come, lest that I be unpaid, "for who cometh first to the mill, first must grind."

And as I was writing this bill, one of the grooms of my lord's chamber came to me, and told me that my lady² will be here in Norwich to-morrow at night towards Walsingham, which shall I wot well be another let to me, but I had more need to be otherwise occupied than to await on ladies, for there is as yet I trow no spear that shall go over the sea so evil horsed as I am, but it is told me that Richard Calle hath a good horse to sell, and one John Butcher of Oxborough hath another, and if it might please you to give Sym leave to ride into that country at my cost, and in your name, saying that ye will give one of your sons an horse, desiring him that he will give you a pennyworth for a penny, and he shall, and the price be reasonable, hold him pleased with your payment out of my purse, though he know it not ere his horse depart from his hands. Mother I beseech you, and it may please you to give Sym leave to ride on this message in your name, that he may be here with me to-morrow in the morning betimes, for were I once horsed I trow I were as far forth ready as some of my neighbours.

¹ We are here informed that those who had engaged in the king's service received their pay out of the Exchequer quarterly, for themselves and their waged men.

² Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, wife of John Mowbray the last Duke of Norfolk of that name, was most probably on her way in pilgrimage to the image of our Lady at Walsingham, to offer at her shrine, and to obtain through her intercession an easy pregnancy and happy delivery.

I heard a little word that ye purposed to be here in Norwich the next week, I pray God it be this week.

Mother, I beseech you that I may have an answer to-morrow at the farthest of this matter, and of any other service that it please you to command me, which I will at all seasons ready to accomplish with God's grace, whom I beseech to preserve you and yours.

Written at Norwich, this Wednesday in Easter week,

By your son and servant,

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Wednesday, April,
between 1470 and 1474.
10 and 14 E. IV.

LETTER CCCV.—WAGES TO BE PAID

The wages due to these men was for their attendance, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk at the battle of Lincoln Field, usually called the battle of Stamford, where the king [Edw. IV.], in the beginning of March, 1469-70, obtained a complete victory over the rebel forces, commanded by the son of Lord Welles, who, being there taken prisoner, was a few days after beheaded. On the news of this defeat the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick repaired to Exeter, from thence they went to Dartmouth, and there, about May, embarked for France. We find by this letter that the king's army followed them to Exeter. This letter by the date appears to have been written just about the time of Edward's leaving the kingdom, when Henry VI. was re-instated on the throne, unless the payment of the men had been longer delayed; if so it was not written till after Edward's return and re-accession. [They were of course Lancastrians, as Suffolk himself was; and this letter must have been written during Henry's short restoration. They had retreated to Exeter, and had probably had no chance of obtaining payment till this time. The battle was fought, March 12, at Erpingham in Rutlandshire.]

To the Bailiffs, Constables, and Chamberlains of our Borough of Eye, and to every of them.

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.¹

FORASMUCH as Edmund Lee and John Barker, which were waged for your town to await upon us in the King's service to Lincoln Field, and from thence to Exeter and (*back*) again; and for that season, as we be informed, they are not yet fully contented and paid of their wages; wherefore, upon the sight hereof, we will and charge that ye without any longer delay pay them their whole duties according the covenants that ye made with them, and ye fail not hereof as ye intend our pleasure. Written at Wingfield, the 22nd day of October.

SUFFOLK.

Wingfield, Monday,
22nd of October, 1470. 10 E. IV.

¹ John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, died in 1491.

LETTER CCCVI.—HENRY VI. IS ON THE THRONE

It appears plainly from the contents of this letter, that it was written during the short time that Henry VI. was in possession of the throne. The Earl of Oxford was coming to Norwich to see how the county of Norfolk stood affected to the present change in the government, and most probably to be present at the election of members to be returned for that city, as well as for the county, to serve in the ensuing parliament. It is a most curious letter, and gives us a very particular description both of the parties and of the politics of the times.

To John Paston, Esq., in haste.

BROTHER, I commend me to you, praying you that this be your guiding, if other folks will agree to the same, that Master Roos, old Knivet,¹ ye, and the worshipfullest that will do for our sake, as Arblaster, John Jenney, Wodehouse,² and all other gentlemen that at the day will be in Norwich, that ye all whole as one body come together, that my Lord of Oxford may understand that some strength resteth thereby, which if it be well handled and prove in the handling, I trow Heydon's party will be but an easy comparison; nevertheless, then must ye beware of one pain, and that is this, Heydon will of craft³ send among you per case (*probably*) six or more with harness, for to slander your fellowship with saying that they be riotous people and not of substance; require the gentlemen above written that if any men be in Norwich of the country that bear any such harness to do (*make*) them leave it, or any glistering bill (*poleaxe*).

The mayor and citizens of Norwich were wont to have a certayne (*a number*) of men in harness of men of the town to the number of two or three or five hundred, which if they now do in like case, these will owe better will to Master Roos and you than to other folks; and if it be so that they thought not to have none such at this time, I think the mayor will do it at the request of Master Roos and you, if lack of time cause (*prevent*) it not.

Item, be well ware of Clopton, for he hath advised my lord to be altogether ruled by Heydon, insomuch he hath reported that all things and all matters of my lord's and in all the country should (*be*) guided by Heydon; if Clopton or Hygham or Lewis John be busy, press into my lord before them, for they be no sufficient matters, and tell the railing;⁴ praying them not to

¹ John Knevet, Esq., of Buckenham Castle.

² Sir Edward Wodehouse, knight, of Kimberley in Norfolk.

³ This is a curious scheme, and worthy the conductor of a modern election contest.

⁴ [In the original "for the be no suff. matrys, and tell the rayling." We think the translation should be "for they be no sufficient masters, and tell the real thing," *i.e.* the truth.]

cause my lord to owe his favour, for their pleasure, to some folks there present; for if my lord favour, or they either, by likelihood my lord and they might lose six times as many friends as he should win by their means.

Also, if ye could find the means, Master Roos and ye, to cause (*the*) mayor in my lord's ear to tell him, though he should bind my lord to conceal (*it*), that the love of the country and city resteth on our side, and that other folks be not beloved nor never were; this would do none harm.

If it be so that all things go olyver¹ current with more, to remember that there is out of that country that be not at Norwich, beside me, that be right worshipful, and as worshipful as few belonging to Norfolk, that will and shall do my lord service the rather for my sake and Master Roos's, and the rather if my lord remit not much thing to Heydon's guiding.

Also the goodly means whereby ye best can entreat my cousin Sir William Calthorpe at the said day wse (*advise*)² them to cause him, if it will be, to come ye in his company and he in yours, in chief at your chief show, and Master Roos and he in company, letting my said cousin weet that I told him once that I should move him of a thing I trusted should be increasing both to his honour and weal.

I sent you a letter, come to Norwich by likelihood, to you on Monday last past, it came somewhat the later, for I wend have died not long before it.

Also, I received one from you by Master Blomvile yester even. Tell my cousin W. Yelverton³ that he may not appear of a while in no wise, I trow my cousin his father shall send him word of the same; do that ye can secretly that my lord be not heavy lord unto him: it is understood that it is done by the craft of Heydon, he gat him into that office to have to be against me, and now he saith that he hath done all that he can against me, and now may do no more, now he would remove him.

The day is come that he fasted the even for; as an holy young

¹ This appears to be the word in the original, but the meaning of it I shall be glad to have explained. [May it not be *clever*—cleverly. *If it be so that all these things, with more, go cleverly current*, that is smoothly, *then to remember*, &c. This appears to us the construction. The whole letter is very obscurely worded; we have altered even more of the punctuation here than elsewhere, and a few of the words that appeared wrongly translated, and we trust the meaning is now generally to be understood.]

² [*Wse* is probably *use*—"the goodly means . . . use them to cause him," &c.]

³ William Yelverton had been in the interest of Edward IV., and therefore durst not appear till he had secured a pardon from the present government.

monk fasted more than all the convent, after that for his holiness and fasting hoped to be about, which afterward was abbot, then left he his abstinence, saying, "the day was come that he fasted the even for."

Brother, I pray you recommend me to my Lord of Oxford's good lordship; and whereas I told my lord that I should have awaited upon his lordship in Norfolk, I would that I might so have done lever than an hundred pound; but in good faith these matters that I told my lord (*I*) trowed should let me were not finished till yesterday, wherefore of that cause, and also since Hallowmass every other day must not hold up mine head, nor yet may, insomuch that since the said day, in Westminster Hall and in other place, I have gone with a staff as a ghost, as men said, more like that I rose out of the earth than out of a fair lady's bed, and yet am in like case, saving I am in good hope to amend, wherefore I beseech his lordship to pardon me, and at another time I shall make double amends, for by my troth a man could not have hired me for five hundred marks (333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) with so good will to have ridden into Norfolk, as to have at this season there to have awaited on his lordship; and also I would have been glad, for my lord should have known what service that I might have done his lordship in that country.

Item, your gear is sent to you as Thomas Stomps saith, saving Mylsent's gear and the chaffron which I cannot intreat Thomas Stomps to go there for this three or four days, wherefore I knocked him on the crown, &c.

Item, look that ye take heed that the letter were not broken ¹ ere that came to your hands, &c. Written at London, on Thursday next after Saint Erkenwald's day ² (14*th* November).

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Thursday,
15*th* of November, 1470.
10 E. IV. (49 H. VI.)

¹ The caution concerning the safe delivery of the letter unopened is worthy of observation.

² Erkenwald, Bishop of London, founded one monastery at Chertsey, in Surrey, for men, and another at Barking, in Essex, for women, who before that time were often obliged to retire into France for want of a proper retreat in England. He was the son either of Offa or Ina, a king of the East Angles, and died at Barking in the latter end of the seventh century, when his body was interred in his own cathedral, but was taken up in 1148 and deposited anew with great veneration on the 14*th* of November.

LETTER CCCVII.—RHYMED LATIN VERSES

These facetious verses seem to have been written without any regard to quantity, the rhyming of the lines in each stanza appears to be all that was attended to; they are here produced only as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the age, for other merit of any kind they have none, as they abound in false quantity, false concord, &c., &c. They were written by the seneschal of the Earl of Oxford, but to whom, unless by the Black Knight we may suppose Sir John Paston to be intended, it is not to be discovered.

Senescallus Comitiss Oxoniæ nigro Militi.

NON decet senescallo tam magni comitis
 Ut comes Oxoniæ verbis in Anglicis
 Scribere epistolas, vel suis in nunciis
 Aliquid proponere si non in Latinis.

IGITUR ille pauperculus prædicti comitis
 Magnus senescallus magni comitatus
 Nuncupatur Norff. Latinis in verbis
 Apud Knapton in curiâ in formâ judicis.

TIBI nigro militi salutem, et omnibus
 Notifico, quod Langdon ille homunculus
 Nullam pecuniam liberare vult gentibus,
 Quod est magnum impedimentum nostris operibus;

IDcirco tibi mando sub pænâ contemptûs,
 Quod tu indilate propriis manibus
 Scribas tuas litteras, quod ille homunculus
 Copiam pecuniæ deliberat gentibus:

SIN autem per litteras has nostras patentes
 Ego and operarii, qui sunt consentientes
 Omnes unâ voce promemus suos dentes
 Nisi liberet pecuniam, cum simus egentes.

TESTE meipso apud Knapton predicta,
 Est et mihi testis Maria Benedicta,
 Quod vicesimo die Julii non inderelicta
 Erat summe solidi, res hæc non est ficta.

20th of July.

LETTER CCCVIII.—NORFOLK IS PRO-HENRY

Sir Thomas de Vere, knight, was third brother to John de Vere, Earl of Oxford. It appears from this letter that the county of Norfolk was in the interest of Henry VI., and by the orders which it contains, that the Earl had had advice from his brother of the appearance of Edward's fleet on that coast, and of its proceeding from thence to the north. Holinsbed informs us that Edward came before Cromer, in Norfolk, on the 12th of March, where he sent on shore Sir Robert Chamberlaine, Sir Gilbert Debenham, and others, to understand how the country stood affected. They found the vigilance of the Earl of Oxford, and the great preparations he had made, were such that it would be unsafe to land, and therefore they steered northwards.

To my right dear and well-beloved Brother, Thomas Vere.

RIGHT dear and well-beloved brother, I commend me heartily unto you; certifying you that I have received your writing, directed now last unto me, by my servant William Cooke, by which I understand the faithful guiding and disposition of the country to my great comfort and pleasure; which I doubt not shall redound to the greatest praising and worship that ever did till any country; certifying you farthermore that by NICHESON of your other tidings last sent unto me; also these by Robert Porter. I have disposed me with all the power that I can make in Essex and Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and other places to be on Monday next coming at Bury, which purpose I intend to observe with God's grace, towards you into Norfolk, to the assistance of you and the country, in case Edward with his company had arrived there, and yet I shall do the same notwithstanding; for if he arrive northward, like as ye weet by likelihood he should, I cast to follow and pursue him, and where ye desire that I should send you word what disposition shall be taken in the country where ye be, I desire you, that ye, by the advice of the Gentlemen which be there, chuse three or four and send them to me at Bury on Monday next; and then I and they, with my council, shall take a direction for the surety of all that country by God's grace; by whom I shall send then to you relation whether ye shall remain still there yourself, or resort to me with all those that be accompanied with you, and Jesu preserve you. At Hithingham (*Heningham*) the 14th day of March.

By your loving brother,
OXYNFORD.

Heningham, or Hedingham Castle,
in Essex, 14th of March, 1470.
11 E. IV (49 H. VI.)

LETTER CCCIX.—RAISING AN ARMY FOR HENRY

This spirited letter was written immediately after notice of the landing of Edward at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, on the 14th of March; but whether the forces raised in Norfolk, and the neighbouring counties, marched towards Newark does not appear;—if they did, they and those they might meet there, never faced Edward's army, which came forwards to the Earl of Warwick's forces entrenched at Coventry. Edward there made a feint of attacking them, but being joined by his brother the Duke of Clarence, it was determined to omit that, and proceed immediately to London; where he arrived on the 11th of April without opposition, and instantly re-assumed the government of the kingdom.

To my right trusty and well-beloved Henry Spilman, Thomas Seyve, John Seyve, James Radclif, John Brampton the elder, and to each of them.

TRUSTY and well beloved, I commend me to you, letting you weet that I have credible tidings that the king's great enemies and rebels, accompanied with enemies estrangers, be now arrived and landed in the north parts of this his land, to the utter destruction of his royal person, and subversion of all his realm, if they might attain; whom to encounter and resist, the king's highness hath commanded and assigned me, under his seal, sufficient power and authority to call, raise, gather, and assemble, from time to time, all his liege people of the shire of Norfolk, and other places to assist, aid, and strengthen me in the same intent.

Wherefore, in the king's name, and by authority aforesaid, I straitly charge and command you, and in my own behalf heartily desire and pray you that, all excuses laid a-part, ye and each of you, in your own persons, defensibly arrayed, with as many men as ye may goodly make, be on Friday next coming at Lynn, and so forth to Newark; where with the leave of God I shall not fail to be at that time; intending from thence to go forth with the help of God, you, and my friends, to the encounter of the said enemies; and that ye fail not hereof, as ye tender the weal of our said sovereign Lord and all this his realm.

Written at Bury, the 19th day of March.

OXYNFORD.

Bury, 19th of March, 1470.
11 E. IV. (49 H. VI.)

LETTER CCCX.—RUMOURS OF KINGS

To the right worshipful and special singular master, Sir John Paston, Knight, be this delivered.

AFTER due recommendation had, with all my service, &c. (*Here follow copies of indictments and appeals procured against Sir John Paston and his servants ;—and likewise other law business.*)

As for tidings, here in this country be many tales, and none accord with other; it is told me by the under-sheriff that my Lord of Clarence is gone to his brother late king; insomuch that his men have the gorget on their breasts, and the rose over it. And it is said that the Lord Howard¹ hath proclaimed King E(*dward*) king of England in Suffolk.

Yours, and at your commandment,

JAMES GRESHAM.

Latter end of March, or
beginning of April, 1471.
11 E. IV. (49 H. VI.)

LETTER CCCXI.—JOHN PASTON WOUNDED IN THE BATTLE OF BARNET

This curious letter was written by Sir John Paston to his mother, the fourth day after the battle of Barnet, wherein he had personally fought; and which may be said to have settled Edward almost securely on the throne, by depriving him of his implacable enemy the great Earl of Warwick, who here fell, most furiously fighting. His brother, the Marquis of Montagu, shared the same fate; Sir John Paston shows himself a true Lancastrian, and even now entertains great hopes of a change of affairs favourable to Henry;—these, I suppose, were raised by the landing of Queen Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, in Dorsetshire, but they proved of short continuance, for at the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, fought on the 4th of May following, her army was totally routed, and herself and son taken prisoners; when the latter was almost immediately most basely murdered in the presence of Edward; and our historians say that this young prince fell by the swords of the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and of the Lords Dorset and Hastings. He was only eighteen years of age, and was buried, without any funeral pomp, in the church of the Black Friars in Tewkesbury. It seems somewhat surprising that Sir John should commit to paper his wishes and opinions so fully at a time when he was scarcely at liberty himself, and had reason to fear that, if his sentiments were discovered, his life might be in danger. [Hall is the first historian who mentions Clarence and Gloucester as participating in this murder. The monk of Croyland, a contemporary, merely says it was done by "certain persons"; and Fabian, a boy at the time, that the king "strake him with his gauntlet upon the face; after which stroke so by him received, he was by the king's servants incontinently slain."]

To my Mother.

MOTHER, I recommend me to you, letting you weet, that blessed be God, my brother John (*Paston*) is alive and fareth well, and

¹ John Howard, afterwards the first Duke of Norfolk of that name.

in no peril of death; nevertheless he is hurt with an arrow on his right arm beneath the elbow; and I have sent him a surgeon, which hath dressed him, and he telleth me that he trusteth that he shall be all whole within right short time.

It is so that John Mylsent is dead, God have mercy on his soul! and William Mylsent is alive, and his other servants all be escaped by all likelihood.

Item, as for me, I am in good case, blessed be God; and in no jeopardy of my life as me list myself; for I am at my liberty if need be.

Item, my lord archbishop¹ is in the Tower; nevertheless I trust to God that he shall do well enough: he hath a safeguard for him and me both; nevertheless we have been troubled since, but now I understand that he hath a pardon; and so we hope well.

There are killed upon the field, half a mile from Barnet, on Easter day, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis Montagu,² Sir William Tyrell,³ Sir Lewis Johns, and divers other esquires of our country, Godmerston, and Booth.

And on the King Edward's party, the Lord Cromwell,⁴ the Lord Say,⁵ Sir Humphrey Bouchier⁶ of our country, which is a sore moonyd (*moaned*) man here; and other people of both parties to the number of more than a thousand.⁷

As for other tidings, (*it*) is understood here, that the Queen Margaret⁸ is verily landed and her son in the west country, and I trow that as to-morrow, or else the next day, the King Edward will depart from hence to her ward to drive her out again.

Item, I beseech you that I may be recommended to my cousin Lomner, and to thank him for his good will to me ward if I had had need, as I understood by the bearer hereof; and I beseech

¹ George Nevile, Archbishop of York;—it was from the custody of this prelate that Edward escaped, after having been surprised and taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick in 1470; perhaps the kind treatment of his then prisoner now procured his pardon.

² The bodies of these two noblemen were exposed three days to public view in St. Paul's Cathedral, and then buried at Bisham Abbey, Berkshire.

³ Sir William Tyrel was cousin to Sir James Tyrel, the afterwards supposed murderer of Edward V. and his brother the Duke of York.

⁴ Humphrey Bouchier, third son of Henry Earl of Essex, had summons to parliament in 1461, as Lord Cromwell, in right of his wife.

⁵ William Fienes, Lord Say.

⁶ Son of John Lord Berners.

⁷ This number is considerably less than the least given by any of our historians, who, some of them, made the list of slain to amount to 10,000, others to 4000, and those who speak the most moderately to 1500 men. The battle of Barnet began on the morning and lasted till afternoon on Easter Sunday, the 14th of April, 1471.

⁸ Queen Margaret, and Prince Edward her son, landed at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, about the 13th or 14th of April.

you on my behalf to advise him to be well ware of his dealing or language as yet, for the world I assure you is right queasy (*unsettled*), as ye shall know within this month; the people here feareth it sore.

God hath showed himself marvellously like him that made all, and can undo again when him list; and I can think that by all likelihood shall show himself as marvellous again, and that in short time; and as I suppose oftener than once in cases like.

Item, it is so that my brother is unpurveyed (*unprovided*) of money, I have holpen him to my power and above; wherefore, as it pleaseth you, remember him, for [I] cannot purvey for myself in the same case.

Written at London the Thursday in Easter week.

I hope hastily to see you. All this bill must be secret.¹ Be ye not a doubted (*suspicious*)² of the world, I trust all shall be well; if it thus continue I am not all undone, nor none of us; and if otherwise then, &c., &c.

London, Thursday,
18th of April, 1471. 11 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXII.—LANCASTRIAN SUPPLIES

This curious and secret letter, without name, date, or direction, was written by some person of consequence in this reign, and I believe by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, after the unsuccessful battle of Barnet when he retreated with some of his men towards Scotland; but discovering a design to betray him, he privately left them, and went into Wales to join the Earl of Pembroke. The supplies of men and money, &c., herein required to be sent to him were intended to strengthen the queen's army, which was now with the utmost expedition assembling, and which before the Earls of Pembroke and Oxford could join it, was totally routed at Tewkesbury on the 4th of May following.

*To the right reverend and worshipful Lady.*³

RIGHT reverend and worshipful lady, I recommend me to you, letting you weet that I am in great heaviness at the making of this letter; but thanked be God I am escaped myself, and suddenly departed from my men; for I understand my chaplain would have betrayed (*betrayed*) me: and if he come into the country let him be made sure, &c.

¹ Sir John had sufficient reason to say, "All this bill must be secret," for if the conclusion of this letter had been seen by the York party, his liberty, if not his life, would have been at stake.

² [We rather think *suspected* is meant; i.e. if they do nothing to make them suspected.]

³ Margaret, daughter of Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, and sister to the late Earl of Warwick, and wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

Also ye shall give credence to the bringer of this letter, and I beseech you to reward him to his costs; for I was not in power at the making of this letter to give him, but as I was put in trust by favour of strange people, &c.

Also ye shall send me in all haste all the ready money that ye can make; and as many of my men as can come well horsed, and that they come in divers parcels.

Also that my horses be sent with my steel saddles, and bid the yeoman of the horse cover them with leather.

Also ye shall send to my mother,¹ and let her weet of this letter and pray her of her blessing, and bid her send me my casket by this token; *that she hath the key thereof, but it is broken.*

Also ye shall send to the Prior of Thetford,² and bid him send me the sum of gold that he said that I should have; also say to him by this token; ³ *that I showed him the first privy seal, &c.*

Also let Paston, Felbrig, and Brews, come to me.

Also ye shall deliver the bringer of this letter an horse, saddle, and bridle.

Also ye shall be of good cheer, and take no thought (*be not melancholy*), for I shall bring my purpose ⁴ about now by the grace of God who have you in keeping.

⓪ D.⁵

April, 1471. 11 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXIII

[THIS letter is from J. Paston to his mother, and contains an account from J. Paston himself, of his wounded state, and great want of money, confirmatory of the letter of Sir J. Paston his brother (cccxi.). It was written in London, April 30, 1471; and although he says "now I have neither meat, drink, clothes, leechcraft, nor money, but upon borrowing, and I have essayed my friends so far that they begin to fail now in my greatest need"; yet he is in high spirits, most probably from his knowledge of Queen Margaret's return, and of a large army having

¹ Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Howard, knight, who was uncle to John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk of that name. She was now the widow of John de Vere, late Earl of Oxford.

² John Vescey, Prior of Thetford from 1441 to 1479.

³ The precision of the privy tokens shows the caution observed, lest the money, &c., should be fraudulently obtained by making use of his name only.

⁴ This shows the expectations formed by this last attempt of the queen and Prince Edward.

⁵ The first character of this signature may be supposed to resemble an O, and the last a D, though this is *only* supposition.

assembled in her favour. He appears to have been very sanguine of her success, for he says, "it shall not be long to or than (*before*) my wrongs and other men's shall be redressed, for the world was never so like to be ours as it is now"; but a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury was fought, and the queen totally defeated. One of the principal objects of the letter was to procure money. "Mother, I beseech you, and ye may spare any money, that ye will do your alms on me and send me some in as hasty wise as possible." His horses, however, appear to have as much or even more of his attention than his own affairs. His directions are most minute; one, "if he be not takyn up for the king's hawks," is to have "as much meat as he may eat"; "that he have every week three bushels of oats, and every day a penny-worth of bread"; others are to "be put to some good grass in haste." He writes also for several articles of his wardrobe, and desires his mother most particularly "that nobody look over my writings"; and he adds, no doubt anticipating the success of his party, "I thank God I am whole of my sickness, and trust to be clean whole of all my hurts within a sev'nnight at the farthest, by which time I trust to have other tidings; and those tidings once had, I trust not to be long out of Norfolk." The letter is signed John of Gelston, from Geldestone in Norfolk, where he sometimes resided.]

LETTER CCCXIV.—JOHN'S BILL OF PARDON

To my most worshipful mother, Margaret Paston, be this delivered in haste.

RIGHT worshipful mother, I recommend me to you, and as lowly as I can, I beseech you of your blessing. Please you to understand that this Wednesday Sir Thomas Wingfield sent to me, and let me weet that the King had signed my bill of pardon, which the said Sir Thomas delivered to me; and so by Friday, at the farthest, I trust to have my pardon ensealed by the Chancellor, and soon after, so as I can furnish me, I trust to see you, if so be that any of the King's House come into Norwich.

I would fain my grey horse were kept in mew, for gnats. Also, mother, I beseech you that Dollys and his fellow may be sent to, that I may have my money, ready against that I come home, which is due to be paid, for this matter hath cost me (*much*) the setting on. Also that it may please you that Purdy at Hellesdon may be sent to for the horse that he hath of mine, and

that the horse may be kept well, and have as much meat as he will eat betwixt this and that I come home; and that Jack's nag have meat enough also. Also and Sir Thomas Wingfield come to Norwich, that he may have as good cheer as it please you to make unto that man, that I am most beholden to for his great kindness and good-will; for he taketh full my part against my greatest enemies, (*the*) Brandons, and his brother William; for at my first coming to Sir Thomas Wingfield, both William Wingfield and William Brandon the younger were with Sir Thomas, and had great words to mine own mouth, and in chief William Wingfield; and wheresoever he may meet me on even ground, he will do much, but and we meet evenly, no fears, so I have your blessing.

I pray you, without it be to my Lady Calthorpe, let there be but few words of this pardon. No more, but I pray God preserve you and yours. Written the Wednesday before Mary Magdalen (22nd July).

By your humblest son,
JOHN PASTON.

London, Wednesday,
17th July, 1471. 11 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXV.—NEWS PUBLIC AND PERSONAL

*To Mrs. Margaret Paston, or to John Paston, Esquire, her son,
in haste.*

RIGHT well-beloved brother, I commend me to you, letting you weet that I am in welfare, I thank God, and have been ever since that I spake last with you; and marvel for that ye sent never writing to me since ye departed; I heard never since that time any word out of Norfolk; ye might at Bartholomew fair¹ have had messengers enough to London, and if ye had sent to Wykes he should have conveyed it to me. I heard yesterday that a Worsted man of Norfolk, that sold worsteds at Winchester, said that my Lord of Norfolk and my lady were on pilgrimage at our lady² on foot, and so they went to Caister; and that at Norwich one should have had large language to you, and called you traitor,³ and picked many quarrels to you; send me word thereof; it were well done that ye were a little

¹ Bartholomew fair, in Smithfield.

² Of Walsingham.

³ This refers to the part he had taken previous to, and at, the restoration of Henry VI.

surer of your pardon than ye be; advise you, I deem ye will hereafter else repent you.

I understand that Bastard Fauconbridge¹ is either headed or like to be, and his brother both; some men say he would have deserved it and some say nay.

I purpose to be at London the first day of the term, send me word whether ye shall be there or not.

Item, I would weet whether ye have spoken with my Lady of Norfolk or not, and of her disposition and the household's to me and to you wards, and whether it be a possible (*thing*) to have Caister again and their good wills, or not.

And also I pray you understand what fellowship and guiding is in Caister; and have a spy resorting in and out, so may ye know the secrets amongst them.

There is much ado in the North, as men say; I pray you beware of your guiding, and in chief of your language, so that from henceforth by your language no man perceive that ye favour any person contrary to the king's pleasure.

I understand that the Lord Rivers² hath licence of the king to go to Portugal now within this sev'nnight.

I pray you recommend me to my mother, and beseech her of her blessing on my behalf.

Item, I pray you send me word if any of our friends or well-willers be dead, for I fear that there is great death in Norwich and in other borough towns in Norfolk; for I ensure you, it is the most universal death that ever I wist in England; for by my truth, I cannot hear by pilgrims that pass the country, nor none other man that rideth or goeth any country, that any borough town in England is free from that sickness; God cease it when it please him.³

Wherefore, for God's sake, let my mother take heed to my young brethren that they be not in none place where that sickness is reigning, nor that they disport not with none other young

¹ Thomas Nevile, the natural son of William Lord Fauconberg, called the Bastard Fauconberg, having adhered to Henry VI. was, on his taking the government, appointed vice-admiral of the Channel, which place, on the change of affairs, he lost; and being a man of loose character, first turned pirate, and then, landing, collected a large army, with which he attempted to surprise London; where being repulsed, he retired, and on the king's advancing towards him submitted; when he was not only pardoned but knighted, and again appointed vice-admiral. This happened in May, 1471, but was of short continuance, for between the 13th and 29th of September following he was beheaded, though whether for any fresh crime or not is uncertain.

² On a pilgrimage.

³ I do not find this year marked by our historians as a year of sickness.

people which resorteth where any sickness is; and if there be any of that sickness dead or enfect (*infected*) in Norwich, for God's sake let her send them to some friend of hers into the country, and do ye the same by mine advice; let my mother rather remove her household into the country.

Even now Thyrston brought me word from London that it was Doctor Allen that caused your trouble that ye had at Norwich; and that John Pampyng rode for a discharge for you, and that he hath sped well, but how that, wot I not; if ye be clear out of Doctor Allen's danger keep you there, and hereafter ye may scoff as well at his carte (*q. cost*); I pray you send me word of all the form of his dealing with you.

I had almost spoken with Mrs. Anne Hawte, but I did not, nevertheless this next term I hope to take one way with her or other; she is agreed to speak with me, and she hopeth to do me ease as she saith.

I pray you send me word how ye do with my Lady Elizabeth Bouchier, ye have a little chafed it but I cannot tell how; send me word whether ye be in better hope or worse.

I hear say that the Earl of Oxford's brethren be gone out of sanctuary.¹ Sir Thomas Fulforth² is gone out of sanctuary, and a great fellowship fetched him, a three score, and they say that within five miles of London he was 200 men, and no man weeteth where he is become not yet. The Lords Hastings and Howard be in Calais and have it peaceably; and Sir Walter Wrottesly and Sir Jeffrey Gate be coming thence, and will be at London this day as it is said.

Written at Waltham beside Winchester the day next Holyrood day.³

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

13th or 15th of September,
1471. 11 E. IV.

¹ Till the reign of Henry VIII., all our churches and churchyards were sanctuaries, and protected traitors, murderers, &c., if within forty days they acknowledged their fault and submitted themselves to banishment; —the most eminent sanctuaries in England were St. John's of Beverley, St. Martin's Le Grand, Ripon in Yorkshire, St. Buriën's in Cornwall, and Westminster.

² Sir Thomas Fulford was son of Sir Baldwin Fulford, beheaded at Bristol in 1461; he likewise ended his life on the scaffold.

³ Holyrood day, 14th of September.

LETTER CCCXVI.—VARIOUS TIDINGS FROM LONDON

To his well-beloved John Paston, Esquire, at Norwich, or to Mrs. Margaret, his mother.

I COMMEND me to you, letting you weet that, &c. (*Here follows an account that the Duchess of Suffolk¹ and Duke of Norfolk intend again commencing appeals against Sir John Paston and his brother, &c., concerning Caister, &c.*) I would fain have the measure where my father lieth at Bromholm;² both the thickness and compass of the pillar at his head, and from that the space to the altar, and the thickness of that altar, and imagery of timber work; and what height the arch is to the ground of the aisle, and how high the ground of the choir is higher than the ground of the aisle.

Item, I pray you let the measure by pack-thread be taken, or else measured by yard, how much is from the north gate where the brigg was at Gresham³ to the south wall, and in like form from the east side to the west; also the height of the east wall, and the height of the south-east tower from the ground, if ye may easily. Also what breadth every tower is within the wall, and which tower is more than other within. Also how many foot, or what breadth each tower taketh within each corner of the quadrate overthwart the doors, and how many tailor's yards is from the mote side, where the brigg was, to the highway, or to the hedge all along the entry, and what breadth the entry is between the dikes.

I pray you, if ye have a leisure in any wise, see this done yourself if ye may, or else if Pampyng do it, or who that ye think can do it; I would spend 20*d.*, or as ye seem, to have the certain of everything herein.

And as for my father's tomb I charge you see it yourself, and when I speak with you I will tell you the causes why that I desire this to be done.

As for tidings, the king and the queen and much other people are ridden and gone to Canterbury, never so much people seen in pilgrimage heretofore at once as men say.

¹ Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV.

² John Paston was most sumptuously buried in the priory church of Bromholm in 1466; these measures, I suppose, were required in order to adopt a plan for his monument.

³ This mansion, built by the Stutevilles, was, by licence from Edward II., embattled by the Bacons; Sir William Paston, the judge, purchased this estate.

Also it is said that the Earl of Pembroke¹ is taken unto Bretagne; and men say that the king shall have delivery of him hastily; and some say that the king of France will see him safe, and shall set him at liberty again.

Item, Thomas Fauconbridge his head was yesterday set upon London Bridge looking into Kent ward; and men say that his brother was sore hurt, and escaped to sanctuary to Beverley.

Sir Thomas Fulforth escaped out of Westminster with 100 spears² as men say, and is into Devonshire, and there he hath stricken off Sir John Crokker's head and killed another knight of the Courtenays as men say: I would ye had your very pardon at once; wherefore I pray you fail not to be at London within four days after Saint Faith's;³ ye shall do good in many things, and I pray you send me word hereof by the next messenger; and if it come to Mrs. Elizabeth Higgens, at the Black Swan, she shall convey it to me, for I will not fail to be there at London again within this six days.

Mrs. Elizabeth hath a son, and was delivered within two days after Saint Bartholomew;⁴ and her daughter A. H. was, the next day after, delivered of another son, as she saith eleven weeks ere her time; it was christened John,⁵ and is dead, God save all; no more till I speak with you.

Written at London on Michaelmas even.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Item, I pray you let some witty fellow, or else yourself, go to the towns there as (*where*) these two women dwell, and inquire whether they be married since and again or not, for I hold the hoorys (*whores*) wedded; and if they be, then the appeals were abated thereby. I remember not their names, ye know them better than I. Also in the sheriff's books there may ye find of them.

London, Saturday,
28th of September, 1471.
11 E. IV.

¹ Jasper Tudor de Hatfield, Earl of Pembroke, half-brother to Henry VI. He went into Brittany, to his nephew Henry Earl of Richmond, whom he attended at Bosworth Field, and was by him created Duke of Bedford; he died in 1495.

² Spear-men;—men armed with spears.

³ 5th of October.

⁴ 24th of August.

⁵ The conclusion of this letter seems to refer to some private amours of Sir John, and if A. H. stand for Anne Hawte, she appears to be a mistress of his; but this is not certain, yet it is probable by the next letter but one that she was his mistress, as he there says "he will tempt God no more so." [If so, it appears strange that the letter should be directed to his brother, even though only as an alternative.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXVII

[THIS letter is from M. Paston to her son J. Paston, dated November 5, 1471, complaining of his brother, Sir J. Paston, neglecting to forward her money which she had borrowed for him, and for which she was security. She very ingeniously shows how his neglect will ultimately occasion him greater loss. The sum required is one hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), and she says: "I know not how to do therefore by my troth, for I have it not, nor I cannot make shift therefore and (*if*) I should go to prison; therefore commune with your brother hereof, and send me word how that he will make shift therefore in haste; I must else need sell all my woods, and that shall disavail him better than a cc. marks and I die; and if I should sell them now there will no man give so much for them by near an c. marks as they be worth, because there be so many wood sales in Norfolk at this time." She proceeds to recount how much she has given and paid for Sir John, and makes some threats as to what may take place on her death. The rest of the letter is of country news, deaths, sickness, &c., but she adds, "I send you half a rial (5*s.*) for to buy with sugar, figs, and dates, for me; I pray ye do as well as ye can, and send it me as hastily as ye may; and send me word what price a pound of pepper, cloves, mace, ginger, cinnamon, almonds, rice, galangal, saffron, raisins of Corinth (*currants*), greynes (*probably grains of Paradise*), and comfits, of each of these send me the price of a pound, and if it be better cheap at London than it is here, I shall send you money to buy with such as I will have."]

LETTER CCCXVIII.—SIR JOHN IS MORE PROSPEROUS

Margaret, queen of Henry VI., was taken after the battle of Tewkesbury, and continued a prisoner till 1475, when she was ransomed by her father for 50,000 crowns, which he borrowed of Lewis XI., King of France.

To my most honourable and tender mother, Margaret Paston, be this letter delivered.

Most worshipful and kind mother, I commend me to you, and beseech you of your daily blessing and remembrance. Please it you to weet that I have my pardon,¹ as the bearer hereof can inform you, for comfort whereof I have been the merrier this Christmas; and have been part thereof with Sir George

¹ For joining the friends of Henry VI. in order to his restoration.

Browne,¹ and with my lady mine aunt his wife; and before Twelfth² I came to my lord archbishop,³ where I have had as great cheer, and been as welcome as I could devise; and if I had been in surety that Caister were had again I would have come homeward this day.

(*Here follow directions about Caister, and a hope that it might be had again by the latter end of the term, when he would come home, and put his lands and houses into order.*) And I beseech you to remember my brother to do his devyr that I may have again my stuff,⁴ my books, and vestments, and my bedding, howsoever he do, though I should give 20 scutas by his advice to my Lady Brandon or some other good fellow.

As for any tidings there be none here, save that the king hath kept a royal Christmas; and now they say that hastily he will north, and some say that he will into Wales, and some say that he will into the west country. As for Queen Margaret, I understand that she is removed from Windsor to Wallingford, nigh to Ewelme, my Lady of Suffolk's place in Oxfordshire.

And men say that the Lord Rivers shipped on Christmas even into (*unto*) Portugal ward; I am not certain.

Also there shall be a convocation of the clergy in all haste, which men deem will avail the king a dyme (*tenth*) and an half some say. I beseech God send you good health and greater joy in one year than ye have had these seven. Written at the Moor, the 8th day of January, in the 11th of Edward IV.

By your son,

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Tuesday, 8th of January,
1471-2. 11 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXIX.—THE DUKES OF CLARENCE AND GLOUCESTER ARE UNFRIENDLY

We have in this letter a clue to conduct us towards a discovery of the reason for the Duke of Gloucester's dislike to his brother the Duke of Clarence, and if this account be true it had a reasonable foundation. The Duke of Gloucester was desirous of marrying Anne (now the widow of Prince Edward, so cruelly murdered at Tewkesbury), daughter and co-heir of the great Earl of Warwick, and sister to Isabel Duchess of Clarence. This alliance we here find was opposed by the Duke of Clarence; not from any point of delicacy respecting the murder of this lady's late husband (for according to our historians he was equally concerned in that horrid act

¹ Sir George Browne, knight, of Beechworth Castle, in Surrey.

² Twelfth day, 6th of January.

³ George Nevile, Archbishop of York.

⁴ These were what had been taken at Caister, I suppose.

with his brother), but because he did not relish the thought of parting with her share of the possessions now vested in him by his wife Isabel, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Nevile, Earl of Warwick; his apparent design being to deprive the younger daughter of her moiety of her paternal inheritance, and retain it all himself. This was the part not only of a covetous but of an unjust man, and very probably produced that spirit of revenge which afterwards ended in his destruction.

To John Paston; Esq., be this letter delivered.

BROTHER, I commend me to you, and pray you to look up my "Temple of Glass,"¹ and send it me by the bearer hereof.

Item, as for tidings, I have spoken with Mrs. Anne Hawte at a pretty leisure, and blessed be God we be as far forth as we were tofore, and so I hope we shall continue; and I promised her, that at the next leisure that I could find thereto, that I would come again and see her; which will take a leisure as (*I*) deem now, since this observance is over done; I purpose not to tempt God no more so.

Yesterday the king, the queen, my Lords of Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to pardon; men say not all in charity; what will fall men cannot say.

The king entreateth my Lord of Clarence for my Lord of Gloucester; and as it is said he answereth that he may well have my lady his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood as he saith, so what will fall can I not say.

This day I purpose to see my Lady of Norfolk² again, in good hour be it.

There is proffered me merchants for Sporle wood, God send me good sale when I begin; that poor wood is sorely managed and treated.

Yet wot I not whether I come home before Easter or not, I shall send you word; no more, &c.

Written the first Tuesday of Lent.

JOHN PASTON, knight.

Tuesday, 17th of February,
1471-2. 11 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXX.—A BANKRUPT'S DEBTS

To my right worshipful brother, Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you. (*Here follows an account of some money transactions, &c.*) Item, Master John Smythe telleth me that Sir T. Lyney's goods are not able to

¹ A poem written by Stephen Hawes, who flourished in the 15th century.

² Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk was the daughter of John Talbot the first Earl of Shrewsbury.

pay a quarter of his debts that be asked him, wherefore such money as is beleft, it must be divided to every man a part after the quantity, which division is not yet made, but when it is made he hath promised me that your part shall be worth three the best, &c.

Item, as for one of Berney's horse, whoso hath least need to him, he shall cost him 20 marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) not a penny less.

Ye sent me word of the marriage of my Lady Jane; one marriage for another one, Norse and Bedford were asked¹ in the church on Sunday last past.

As for my sister Anne, my mother will not remove from W. Yelverton for Bedyngfeld, for she hath communed farther in that matter since ye were in this country, as it appeareth in her letter that she sendeth you by Thyrston.

Tidings here, my Lady of Norfolk is with child she weneth (*thinketh*) herself, and so do all the women about her, insomuch she waits the quickening within these six weeks at the farthest. Also W. Gurney weneth that Heydon is sure of Saxthorpe, and that Lady Boleyn of Guyton.

John Osbern adviseth you to take breath for the wood sale at Sporle, for he hath cast it that it is worth as good as nine score pounds. Beware of Montayn, for he may not pay you so much money with his ease.

I pray you recommend me to Sir John Parre with all my service, and tell him by my troth I longed never sorer to see my lady than I do to see his mastership; and I pray God that he arise never a morning from my lady his wife, without it be against her will, till such time as he bring her to our Lady of Walsingham.

Also I pray you to recommend me in my most humble wise unto the good lordship of the most courteous, gentlest, wisest, kindest, most companionable, freest, largest, and most bounteous knight, my lord the Earl of Arran,² which hath married the king's sister of Scotland. Hereto he is one the lightest, delynerst (*nimblest*), best spoken, fairest archer; devoutest, most perfect, and truest to his lady of all the knights that ever I was acquainted with; so would God, my lady liked me as well as I do his person and most knightly conditions, with whom I pray you to be acquainted as you seemeth best; he is lodged at the George in Lombard-street. He hath a book of my sister Anne's of the

¹ Banns of marriage we here find were published at this time in the church.

² Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, in 1466 married Mary, daughter of James II. and sister of James III., kings of Scotland. He was appointed regent, but becoming unpopular, was banished, and died in exile before 1474.

"Siege of Thebes," when he hath done with it he promised to deliver it you. I pray you let Portland bring the book home with him. Portland is lodged at the George in Lombard-street also.

And this I promise you, ye shall not be so long again without a bill from me, as ye have been, though I should write how oft the wind changeth, for I see by your writing ye can be wrath

and ye will ^{crosse it} for little.¹

Written the 5th day of June.

JOHN PASTON.

5th of June, 1472. 12 E. IV.
(Or perhaps it may be 5th of June,
1470. 10 E. IV. See Letter ccxcix.)

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXI

[JOHN PASTON in this letter proceeds with the affairs of Sir J. Lyney's (or Lynes), whose effects, he says, in this country draweth but 5*l.*; he recommends his brother to send an inventory of Sir J. Lyney's goods, &c., in London, "which inventory if once had, ye shall have as cometh to your part and more also"; but that "his debts draw 30*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*" He states also that there is some objection to Sir J. Paston's bill for the funeral, in which twenty shillings is charged for wax (lights, we suppose) "which to Master John Smith's imagination, and to all other officers of the court, should not draw past twenty pence." The rest of the letter is chiefly about his mother intending to settle her property by will, and of his own disagreement with Sir J. Gloys. "Many quarrels are picked to get my brother Edmund and me out of her (his mother's) house; we go not to bed unchidden lightly; all that we do is ill-done, and all that Sir James and Peacock doth is well-done. Sir James and I be twain: we fell out before my mother, with 'thou proud priest,' and 'thou proud squire,' my mother taking his part, so I have almost beshut the bolt (*barred myself out*) as for my mother's house." This is a curious picture of the discontent and unhappiness arising from the improper predominance of a domestic (Sir James Gloys was priest and confessor to his mother) in a family. Sir James, however, died in 1473, when administration of his effects was granted to Margaret Paston. The letter is dated Wednesday, July 8, 1472.]

¹ These two words are crossed as here represented, and over them is written, "crosse it."

LETTER CCCXXII.—VOTE FOR SIR JOHN PASTON!

To my right trusty friend John Carenton, bailiff of Maldon.

RIGHT trusty friend, I commend me to you, praying you to call to your mind, that like as ye and I communed of, it were necessary for my lady and you all, her servants and tenants, to have this parliament as for one of the burgesses of the town of Maldon, such a man of worship and of wit as were towards my said lady; and also such one as is in favour of the king, and of the lords of his council nigh about his person: certifying you, that my said lady for her part and such as be of her council, be most agreeable that both ye and all such as be her farmers and tenants and well-willers, should give your voice to a worshipful knight, and one of my lady's council, Sir John Paston; which stands greatly in favour with my lord chamberlain; and what my said lord chamberlain may do with the king and with all the lords of England, I trow it be not unknown to you most of any one man alive. Wherefore, by the means of the said Sir John Paston to my said lord chamberlain, both my lady and ye of the town could not have a meeter man to be for you in the parliament to have your needs sped at all seasons. Wherefore I pray you labour all such as be my lady's servants, tenants, and well-willers, to give their voices to the said Sir John Paston, and that ye fail not to speed my lady's intent in this matter as ye intend to do her as great a pleasure as if ye gave her an iool. And God have you in his keeping. Written at Fishly, the 20th day of September.

JAMES ARBLASTER.¹

I pray you be ready with all the accounts belonging to my lady, at the farthest within eight days next after Pardon Sunday, for then I shall be with you with God's grace, who have you in keeping.

Fishly, Sunday,
20th of September, 1472.
12 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXXIII.—JOHN PASTON HELPING HIS BROTHER

We have here a curious description of the council of a great man, and find it composed of gentlemen of family and fortune. Matters respecting the property of their lord come before them, they debate upon the subject and deliver their opinion; but if that opinion differed from that of the great man, we find he took the liberty of adopting his own.

¹ James Arblaster, Esq., a gentleman of fortune in the county of Norfolk.

To my right worshipful brother, Sir John Paston, Knight.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you; letting you weet that your desire, as for the knights of the shire,¹ was an impossible to be brought about; for my Lord of Norfolk² and my Lord of Suffolk³ were agreed more than a fortnight ago to have Sir Robert Wyngfield and Sir Richard Harcourt, and that knew I not till it was Friday last past. I had sent ere I rode to Framlingham to warn as many of your friends to be at Norwich, as this Monday, to serve your intent as I could; but when I came to Framlingham, and knew the appointment that was taken for the two knights, I sent warning again to as many as I might, to tarry at home; and yet there came to Norwich this day as many as their costs drew to 9s. 1½d. paid and reckoned by Peacock and R. Capron; and yet they did but break their fast and departed; and I thanked them in your name, and told them that ye would have no voice as this day, for ye supposed not to be in England when the parliament should be; and so they came not at the Shire-house, for if they had it was thought, by such as be your friends here, that your adversaries would have reported that ye had made labour to have been one, and that ye could not bring your purpose about.

I sent to Yarmouth, and they have promised also to Doctor Aleyn and John Russe to be (*burgesses*) more than threeweeks ago.

James Arblaster hath written a letter to the bailiff of Maldon in Essex to have you a burgess there; how Jude shall speed let him tell you when ye speak together.

Sir, I have been twice at Framlingham since your departing; but now the last time the council was there, I saw your letter which was better than well endited. R. C. was not at Framlingham when the council was there, but I took my own advice, and delivered it to the council with a proposition therewith, as well as I could speak it; and my words were well taken, but your letter a thousand fold better; when they had read it they showed it to my lady;⁴ after that my lady had seen it I spoke with my lady, offering to my lord and her your service, and besides that, ye to do my lord a pleasure⁵ and her a better, so as ye might depart without any sum specified; she would not tell in that matter, but remitted me again to the council, for she said and she spoke in it till my lord and the council were agreed,

¹ For the county of Norfolk.

³ John de la Pole.

² John Mowbray.

⁴ Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk.

⁵ Make him a present.

they would lay the weight of all the matter on her, which should be reported to her shame; but this she promised, to be helping so it were first moved by the council; then I went to the council and offered before them your service to my lord, and to do him a pleasure, for the having again of your place and lands in Caister 40*l.*, not speaking of your stuff nor thing else; so they answered me your offer was more than reasonable, and if the matter were theirs, they said, they wist what conscience would drive them to, they said they would move my lord with it, and so they did; but then the tempest arose, and he gave them such an answer that none of them all would tell it me; but when I asked an answer of them they said: "And some lords or greater men moved my lord with it, the matter were yours" (keep counsel). And with this answer I departed, but Sir W. Brandon, Southwell, Tymperley, Harry Wentworth, W. Gurney, and all other of council understood that ye have wrong; insomuch that they moved me that ye should take a recompense of other land to the value, but they would not avow the offer; for I answered them, if they had right they would have offered no recompense; discover not this, but in my reason and my lord chamberlain¹ would send my lady a letter with some privy token between them, and also to move my Lord of Norfolk when he cometh to the parliament, certainly Caister is yours.

If ye miss to be burgess of Maldon, and my lord chamberlain will, ye may be in another place; there be a dozen towns in England that choose no burgess which ought to do it, ye may be set in for one of those towns and ye be friended. Also in no wise forget not in all haste to get some goodly ring price of 20*s.*, or some pretty flower of the same price, and not under, to give to Jane Rodon; for she hath been the most special labourer in your matter, and hath promised her good will forth (*in future*); and she doth all with her mistress. And my lord chamberlain will he may cause my Lord of Norfolk to come up sooner to the parliament than he should do, and then he may appoint with him for you ere the farm² corn be gathered. I proffered but 40*l.*, and if my lord chamberlain proffer my lady the remanent I can think it shall be taken; my lady must have somewhat to buy her a coverchief³ besides my lord.

A supper that I paid for, where all the council was at Framlingham, 2*s.* 3*d.* and my costs at Framlingham twice lying there by eight days, with 9*s.* 1½*d.* for costs of the country at

¹ William Lord Hastings.

² Corn paid in part of rent.

³ A head-dress, or handkerchief.

Norwich draweth about 20s. I trow more. By our Lady if it be less stand to your harms, and sic remanet 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

I ask no more good of you for all the service that I shall do you while the world standeth, but a goss hawk,¹ if any of my lord chamberlain's men or yours go to Calais, or if any be to get in London; that is a mewed hawk, for she may make you sport when ye come into England a dozen years hence; and to call upon you hourly, nightly, daily, dinner, supper, for this hawk, I pray no more but my brother (*Edmund*), J. Pampyng, Thyrston, J. Myryel, W. Pitt, T. Platting, Jude, Little Jack, Master Botoner and W. Wood to boot, to which persons I pray you to commend me, and if all these list to speak to you of this matter when Sir George Browne, W. Knyvet, R. Hyde, or any folk of worship and of my acquaintance be in your company, so that they may help forth (for all is little enough, and ye be not very well willing), I shall so purvey for them, and ever ye come to Norwich, and they with you, that they shall have as dainty victuals and as great plenty thereof for 1*d.* as they shall have of the treasurer of Calais for 15*d.*,² and ye peradventure a pye of Wymondham to boot; now think on me, good lord, for if I have not an hawk I shall wax fat for default of labour, and dead for default of company by my troth. No more, but I pray God send you all your desires, and me my mewed goss hawk in haste, or rather than fail a soar hawk, there is a grocer dwelling right over against the Well with two Buckets, a little from Saint Helen's, hath ever hawks to sell.

Written at Norwich the 21st day of September, in the 12th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON.

Rather than fail, a tarsel proved will occupy the time till I come to Calais.

Norwich, Monday,
21st of September, 1472.
12 E. IV.

¹ From the anxiety here expressed for an hawk, we may judge of the attention which was paid to the diversion of hawking. Latham, in his book of *Falconry*, says that a goshawk is the first and most esteemed kind of hawk; that a sore hawk is from the first taking of her from the ciry till she hath mewed her feathers. The tassell, or tiercel, is the male of the goshawk, so called because it is a tierce or third less than the female: it appears here that a "grosser," or dealer in foreign fruits, &c., sold hawks.

² The attendance on the wars in France, and in our garrisons there, must have been very expensive by this account of the difference in the price of provisions at Calais and at Norwich.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXIV

[THIS letter is from J. Paston to his brother Sir John, and is little more than a repetition of his last two letters, complaints of Sir James Gloys, the want of money, some legal matters, and his great desire for a hawk. On this last topic he writes with an earnestness that may well raise a smile. "As for a goshawk, or a tercel, I weened to have had one of yours in keeping ere this time, but 'far from eye, far from heart'; by my troth I die for default of labour; and it may be by any mean possible for God's sake let one be sent me in all haste, for if it be not had by Hallowmas the season shall pass anon; memento mei, and in faith ye shall not lose on it, nor yet much win on it, by God, who preserve you." Dated Norwich, Sept. 29, 1472.]

LETTER CCCXXV.—SIR JOHN'S TALK IS OVERBOLD

This letter is given as containing a specimen of the free and easy conversation of the time, and shows the very intimate acquaintance that subsisted between Sir J. Paston and the Duchess of Norfolk. Sir William Brandon, knight, was standard-bearer to the Earl of Richmond, and was slain in Bosworth Field by Richard III. He was father to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk [who married Mary, sister of Henry VIII., and Dowager Queen of France. The conversation seems to have been indeed very "free and easy" on the part of Sir John. He seems to have spoken of her as he would of a horse; but it also seems that such language was not well received. His concluding sneer at his brother's passion for the hawk is well expressed.]

To John Paston, Esq., be this delivered.

WORSHIPFUL and well-beloved brother, I recommend me to you; letting you weet that I sent you a letter and ring with a diamond; in which letter ye might well conceive what I would ye should do with the same ring, with many other tidings and things which I prayed you to have done for me; which letter Botoner¹ had the bearing of; it is so now that I understand that he is either dead or else hard escaped; whereof I am right heavy; and am not certain whether the said letter and ring came to your hands or not.

I would not that letter were seen with some folks, wherefore I pray you take good heed how that letter cometh to your hands whole or broken, and in especial I pray you get it if ye have it not.

Also I pray you feel my Lady of Norfolk's disposition to me wards, and whether she took any displeasure at my language, or

¹ William Botoner, otherwise Worcester.

mocked or disdained my words which I had to her at Yarmouth, between the place where I first met with her and her lodging; for my Lady Brandon and Sir William also asked me what words I had had to her at that time; they said that my lady said I gave her thereof,¹ and that I should have said that my lady was worthy to bear a lord's son,² for she could cherish it and deal warily with it.

In truth either the same, or words much like, I had to her, which words I meant as I said; they say too that I said she took her ease. Also I should have said that my lady was of stature good, and had sides long and large, so that I was in good hope she should bear a fair child; he was not laced, nor braced in, to his pain, but that she left him room to play him in; they say that I said my lady was large and great, and that it should have room enough;² and thus whether my lady mock me, or they, I wot not; I meant well by my troth to her and to that she is with, as any he that oweth her best will in England; if ye can by any mean weet whether my lady take it to displeasure or not, or whether she think I mocked her, or if she weet it but lewdness of myself, I pray you send me word, for I wot not whether I may trust this Lady Brandon or not.

As for tidings now, here be but few, save that, as I understand, ambassadors of Brittany shall come to London to-morrow; and men say that the Lord³ Rivers and Scales shall hastily come home, and men say that there is many of the soldiers that went to him into Brittany been dead of the flux and other epidemy, that the remanent should come home with the Lord Scales; and some say that these ambassadors come for more men; and this day runneth a tale that the Duke of Brittany⁴ should be dead, I believe it not.

I sent you word of a hawk; I heard not from you since; I do and shall do that is possible in such a need.

Also I cannot understand that my Lord of Norfolk shall come here this time, wherefore I am in a great agony how is best for me to sue to him for rehaving of my place; that good lord weeteth full little how much harm he doth me, and how little good or worship it doth him. I pray you send me your advice. No more to you at this time, but God have you in his keeping.

¹ I paid her off, or treated her with unceremonious language.

² [The words of the original in both passages are somewhat coarser.]

³ Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, &c., went to endeavour to obtain possession of the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond, who were detained as prisoners by the Duke of Brittany.

⁴ Francis II., the last Duke of Brittany, was born in 1435, and died in 1488.

Written at London, the 4th day of November, in the 12th year of Edward IV.

I fear me that idleness leadeth your rein; I pray you rather remember Sir Hugh Lavernoy's till your hawk come.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Wednesday,
4th of November, 1472. 12 E. VI.

LETTER CCCXXVI.—MY LADY OF NORFOLK

I should have thought this child was Anne, if it had not been for the memorandum of "Ao. x0." (10 E. IV.; on the back of a letter (ccxcix.) from John Paston to Sir John Paston, knight, to which I refer the reader. The child here expected, therefore, whether boy or girl, died soon after its birth; and whether Sir John's good wishes, as to the sex of the child, were successful or not, must remain undetermined.

To John Paston, Esq., be this given.

BROTHER, I commend me to you, letting you weet, &c. (*The first part of this letter treats of some money transactions of no consequence, &c.*)

As for the deliverance of the ring to Mistress Jane Rotton, I doubt not but it shall be done in the best wise, so that ye shall get me a thank more than the ring and I are worth or deserve.

And whereas ye go to my Lady of Norfolk, and will be there at the taking of her chamber, I pray God speed you, and our Lady her, to her pleasure with as easy labour to overcome that she is about, as ever had any lady or gentlewoman save our Lady herself; and so I hope she shall to her great joy and all ours; and I pray God it may be like her in worship, wit, gentleness, and everything except the sex.

No more to you at this time, but I will sleep an hour the longer to-morrow because I wrote so long and late to-night.

Written between the 8th and the 9th day of November, in the 12th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Between the 8th and 9th of
November, 1472. 12 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXVII

[THE beginning of this letter chiefly relates to the steps taken by Sir J. Paston for the recovery of Caister, and he writes to his mother, brother, or Roos to assist him in his efforts. He has got, he writes, the king's letter of recommendation, to an agree-

ment, we suppose, for he adds, "the king hath specially done for me in this case, and hath put me, and so have the lords, in right great comfort that if this fail that I shall have undelayed justice." He trusts the duchess will be his very good lady, but as she is confined, fears his messenger will not be admitted to her, nor his brother, to move her in his behalf. In that case, he says, "my mother, if she were at Norwich she might speak with her, for that she is a woman and of worship." In order further "to move" the duchess, he says, "where [*whereas*] that heretofore I would have departed with an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) to have had her good help, and to be restored to my place, which, not accepted, I told my said lady that I feared my power should not be hereafter to give so large a pleasure; for at that time I was in hope that the Bishop of Winchester should have paid it, though it had drawn an hundred pound: yet forasmuch as men may not lure none hawks with empty hands, I would yet agree to give my lady 20*l.* for a horse and a saddle, so that I be restored to my place." One other passage is remarkable for the independent and somewhat chivalrous spirit shown in it. He tells his brother, "ye may largely say on my behalf for such service as I should to my lord and lady hereafter, which by my troth, I think to do; nevertheless to say that I will be his sworn man, I was never yet lord's sworn man, yet have I done good service, and not left any at his most need for fear; but as, God help me, I think my lady shall have my service above any lady earthly, which she should well have known had I been in such case as I had not been always the worse welcome for that one of my errands always was understood that it was for Caister, which was not acceptable, and I the worse welcome." He also informs his brother that "I am concluded with my lord for you that ye shall be at Calais if ye list, and have three men in wages under you"; so that Sir John had by this time become an influential courtier under the subverter of his former sovereign. This letter is dated Sunday, Nov. 22, 1472.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXVIII

[THIS letter is only curious as containing a further account of John Paston's hawk. Though he writes to his brother Sir John about it with some humour, yet his vehemence about it, and about the other bird, the pie or magpie, approaches very near to anger. He begins his letter, "Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, thanking you most heartily of your diligence

and cost which ye had in getting of the hawk which ye sent me, for well I wot that your labour and trouble in that matter was as much as though she had been the best of the world, but so God help me as far forth as the most cunning estragers¹ can imagine, she shall never serve but to lay eggs, for she is both a muer de haye, and also she hath been so bruised with carnage of fowl that she is good as lame in both her legs, as any man may see at eye; wherefore all such folk as have seen her advise me to cast her into some wood, whereas I will have her to eyer [*build*, or rather *breed*]; but I will do therein as ye will, whether ye will I send her you again, or cast her into Thorp Wood, and a tercel with her, for I weet where one is; but now I dare no more put you to the cost of a hawk; but for God's sake, and there be any tercel or good cheap goshawk that might be gotten, that the bearer hereof may have her to bring me, and I ensure you by my troth, ye shall have Dolly's and Brown's bond to pay you at Candlemas the price of the hawk. Now and ye have as many ladies as ye were wont to have, I require you, for her sake that ye best love of them all, once trouble yourself for me in this matter, and be out of my clamour." He then presses him to urge on his business matters, tells him of having given a ring sent by Sir John to one of the Duchess of Norfolk's chamber women, who "promised to be more at your commandment than at any knight's in England, my lord's reserved"; and concludes with the following curious postscript: "I saw the pie, and heard it speak, and by God it is not worth a crow; it is far worse than ye weened; by God it were shame to keep it in a cage." Dated Framlingham, Tuesday, Nov. 24, 1472.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXIX

[FROM John Paston to Sir J. Paston, is very unimportant. He thanks his brother for a hat which he understands is coming "by John, the Abbot of St. Bennet's man"; and he says, "my mother prays you to get a new licence of my Lord of Norwich that she may have the sacrament in her chapel: I got a licence of him for a year, and it is nigh worn out; ye may get it for the bishop's life, an ye will." The remainder of the letter contains nothing but advice as to the furthering of the suit for Caister. Dated Nov. 1472.]

¹ [Estragers are falconers. Shakspeare introduces "A gentle Astringer" as one of the characters in *All's Well that Ends Well*.]

PRÉCIS OF NUMBER CCCXXX

[Is a petition from John Paston the younger on behalf of his brother Sir John, to the Duke of Norfolk for the restoration of Caister, "at the reverence of God and by way of charity"; although it asserts somewhat gently that the duke's servants had taken possession of the same wrongfully, "and have taken the issues and profits in the name of your said highness by the space of three years and more, to the great hurt of my said brother and me your said servant and orator." This last passage fixes the date about the end of 1472, as the duke had had possession from September, 1469.]

LETTER CCCXXXI.—SIR JOHN IS FACETIOUS

*To John Paston, Esq., or to Mrs. Margaret Paston, his mother,
be this letter delivered.*

WELL-BELOVED brother . . . As for tidings here there be but few, save that the Duke of Burgundy and my lady¹ his wife fareth well; I was with them on Thursday last past at Ghent. Peter Metteney fareth well and Mrs. Gretkin both, and Rabekyn recommend her to you, she hath been very sick, but it hath done her good, for she is fairer and slenderer than she was; and she could make me no cheer but alway my sauce was, "How fareth Master John your brother?" wherewith I was wrath, and spake a jealous word or two, disdaining that she should care so much for you when I was present.

Send me word to Hoxon's in writing, what good the bishop did for me at Framlingham, and how my lord, my lady, and all the court are disposed to me wards.

I hear also say that my lady and yours, Dame Margaret Vere is dead, God have her soul! if I were not sorry for her I trow ye have been.

No more to you at this time, but Almighty God have you in keeping.

Written at Calais, the 3rd day of February, in the 12th year of the reign of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, knight.

Calais, Wednesday,
3rd of February, 1473. 12 E. IV.

¹ Charles the Bold, and Margaret, sister to Edward IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXXII

[JOHN PASTON requests his brother to use his influence to procure the discharge of his cousin John Blennerhasset from the appointment of collector of the "task" or subsidy, on the ground that he has not a foot of land within the shire. Taxes and tax collecting seem to have been as irksome then as now, and the collecting probably was not sweetened by a salary, or a gentleman would not have been appointed against his will. He wishes to know, if possible, who had caused the appointment, says the Heydons are suspected, and "if they were the causers it lieth in my cousin Harsset's [*Blennerhasset's*] power to quyt [*requite*] them." He then just mentions the committal of a fortune-teller or prophet to Norwich jail; and concludes thus: "No more, but I pray God send you the Holy Ghost amongst you in the Parliament House, and rather the devil, we say, than ye should grant any more tasks." The letter is dated Friday, March 26, 1473.]

LETTER CCCXXXIII.—"ON DIT"

The business referred to in the beginning of this letter is not mentioned; what is said of Blennerhasset seems to be meant as a pun upon the name, as written *Blunder hare set*; or perhaps it may only refer to its being a sounding name. [The business is clearly the release of Blennerhasset from the appointment of collector.]

To his dear and well-beloved brother, John Paston, Esq.

WELL-BELOVED brother, I recommend me to you; letting you weet that, at the request of Mrs. Jane Hassett [*Blennerhasset*] and you, I have laboured both the knights of the shire of Norfolk and the knights of the shire of Suffolk; I understand there had been made labour that such a thing should have been as ye wrote to me of, but now it is safe.

Ralph Blaunderhasset were a name to start an hare, I warrant there shall come no such name in our books nor in our house; it might per case start twenty hares at once. Beware that penny purse.¹ I read there in the bill of Norfolk of one John Tendall, Esquire, but I suppose it be not meant by our Tendall; and if it be, he shall not rest there if I may help it.

As for tidings, the worst that I heard was, that my mother will not do so much for me as she put me in comfort of.

Other tidings, I heard say for certain that the Lady Fitz-

¹ It seems to mean—Beware of that covetous man, or of that poor man, which I know not.

walter is dead, and that Master Fitzwalter should have 400 marks (266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) a year more than he had: I am not sorry therefore.

As for the world I wot not what it meaneth, men say here, as well as Hogan,¹ that we shall have ado in haste; I know no likelihood, but that such a rumour there is. Men say the queen with the prince shall come out of Wales, and keep this Easter with the king at Leicester; and some say neither of them shall come there.

Item, of beyond the sea, it is said that the French king's host hath killed the Earl of Armagnac and all his merry men; some say under appointment, and some say they were besieged and gotten by plain assault.

Farthermore, men say that the French king is with his host upon the water of Somme, a sixty miles from Calais; I leave them where I found them.

I made your answer to the friends of Mrs. Jane Godnoston according to your instructions; as for me, I am not certain whether I shall to Calais, to Leicester, or come home into Norfolk, but I shall hastily send you word, &c.

Written the 2nd day of April, the 13th of Edward IV.

Friday, 2nd of April, 1473.
13 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXXXIV

CONTAINS nothing of consequence. Sir J. Paston tells his brother that "every man saith we shall have ado ere May pass: Hogan the prophet is in the Tower, he would fain speak with the king, but the king saith he shall not avaunt (*boast*) that ever he spake with him." This proves that the public affairs were somewhat troubled, and that tumults were feared, though they did not take place. The severe rule of Edward IV. and the known dissensions in the family gave probable cause for apprehension. The remainder of the letter is on his private affairs, and he appears to be much displeased with his mother because she would not lend him money, and expresses himself in terms of harshness in extreme contrast with the usual humility of children to their parents at that period. He says, "My mother doth me more harm than [*the*] good I'veened she would have done for me. Playters wrote to me that she would have laid out for me 100*l.*, and received it again in five years off the manor of Sporle,

¹ Hogan is the conjuror mentioned in the previous letter.

whereto I trusted; if she had performed I had not been in no jeopardy of the manor of Sporle, nevertheless I shall do what I can yet: I pray you call upon her for the same, remember her of that promise." Also, "remember her of my father's tomb at Bromholm, she doth right nought; I am afraid of her that she shall not do well." Dated London, Monday, April 12, 1473.]

LETTER CCCXXXV.—"THE WORLD SEEMETH QUEASY"

The first part of this curious letter informs us of the unsettled state of the nation; and that the Duke of Clarence, pretending only to be getting his party together to oppose the Duke of Gloucester, was supposed to be meditating some treason against the state. These royal brothers had been for some time at variance, and most probably their disputes were heightened at this time by the late marriage of the latter with Anne, the widow of Prince Edward, Henry VI.'s son, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Warwick, and sister to the Duchess of Clarence, whose possessions the duke was unwilling to divide with her sister, now his brother's wife.

To John Paston, Esq., at Norwich, be this delivered.

WORSHIPFUL and well-beloved brother, I commend me to you; letting you weet that the world seemeth queasy (*unsettled*) here; for the most part that be about the king have sent hither for their harness, and it (*is*) said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, showing as he would but deal with the Duke of Gloucester; but the king intendeth, in eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a stiffler atween them; and some men think that under this there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired; so what shall fall can I not say.

Item, it is said that yesterday two passagers (*passage boats*) of Dover were taken; I fear that if Juddy had no hasty passage, so that if he passed not on Sunday or Monday, that he is taken, and some gear of mine that I would not for 20*l*.

I hope and purpose to go to Calais ward on Sunday or Monday or nigh by, for I came not accompanied to do any service here; wherefore it were better for me to be out of sight.

(*Here follow some money transactions relative to a Doctor Pykenham, his mother, and others.*)

Item, Spring, that waited on my father¹ when he was in Gaol House, whom my father at his dying beset (*bequeathed*) 40*s*. he cryeth ever on me for it, and in way of alms, and he would be eased though it were but xx*s*. or x*s*., wherefore he hath written to my mother, and must have an answer again; I

¹ John Paston, Esq., was imprisoned by Edward IV. in 1466.

would that my mother send him as though she lend him somewhat, and he will be pleased, and else he can say as shrewdly as any man in England.

Item, the king hath sent for his great seal; some say we shall have a new chancellor,¹ but some think that the king doth as he did at the last fields, he will have the seal with him, but this day Doctor Morton, Master of the Rolls,² rideth to the king and beareth the sease (*seals*) with him.

Item, I had never more need of money than now, wherefore Fastolf's five marks (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), and the money of Master John Smythe, would make me whole, &c.

Written on St. Leonard's day, in the 13th year of the reign of Edward IV.

Item, send me my vestment, according to the letter I sent you by Symond Dam, in all haste.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Thursday, 15th of April,
1473. 13 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXXXVI.—SERVANT TROUBLES, &c.

To John Paston, Esq., in Norfolk.

WORSHIPFUL and right heartily-beloved brother, I recommend me unto you; letting you weet that on Wednesday last past I wrote you a letter, whereof John Carbalde had the bearing, promitting me that ye should have it at Norwich this day, or else to-morrow in the morning; wherein I pray you to take a labour according after the tenure of the same, and that I may have an answer at London to Hoxon, if any messenger come, as e'en I may do for you.

As for tidings, there was a truce taken at Brussels about the 26th day of March last past between the Duke of Burgundy and the French king's ambassadors, and Mr. William at Clyff for the king here; which is a peace by land and water till the first day of April³ now next coming between France and England, and also the duke's land; God hold it for ever and grace be!

¹ Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was the then chancellor.

² Dr. Morton was a man of great learning and strict loyalty; he was elected Bishop of Ely in 1478; and in the same year appointed Lord Chancellor;—in 1484 he was advanced to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and died in 1500. [Morton's "strict loyalty" is more than doubtful. He had been a Lancastrian, he was now a Yorkist; he conspired against Richard III. in favour of Henry VII., for which he was deprived of his bishopric, and was only restored on the accession of Henry, to whom he became chief adviser and confidant.]

³ From 26th of March, 1473, to 1st of April, 1474.

Item, the Earl of Oxford¹ was on Saturday at Dieppe, and is purposed into Scotland with a twelve ships; I mistrust that work.

Item, there be in London many flying tales, saying that there should be a work and yet they wot not how.

Item, my Lord Chamberlain² sendeth now at this time to Calais the young Lord Zouch³ and Sir Thomas Hungerford's daughter and heir,⁴ and some say the young Lady Harrington, these be three great jewels; Calais is a merry town, they shall dwell there I wot not whylghe (*how long*).

No more, but I have been and am troubled with mine over large and courteous dealing with my servants, and now with their unkindness; Platting, your man, would this day bid me farewell, to to-morrow at Dover, notwithstanding Thryston, your other man, is from me, and John Myryel, and W. Woode which promised you and Daubeney, God have his soul, at Caister, that if ye would take him in to be again with me that then he would never go from me; and thereupon I have kept him this three years to play Saint George, and Robin Hood, and the sheriff of Nottingham,⁵ and now when I would have good horse, he is gone into Bernysdale, and I without a keeper.

Written at Canterbury, to Calais ward on Tuesday, and hap be upon Good Friday, the 16th day of April, in the 13th year of Edward IV.⁶

Your

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

¹ Our historians assert that the Earl of Oxford was taken in St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, in 1472, and thence conveyed to the castle of Hammes near Calais, where he was imprisoned during twelve years; this could not be as he was now at Dieppe, concerting an expedition into Scotland.

² William Lord Hastings.

³ John Lord Zouch of Harringworth; he was attainted in the first year of Henry VII.

⁴ Mary, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Hungerford; she afterwards married Edward, son and heir to William Lord Hastings, who in her right became Lord Hungerford, her uncle's attainder being reversed.

⁵ Meaning, I presume, either that he had kindly kept him when he did not want him; and now that he did want him that he had left him; or that he had kept him to be an actor in such interludes. [There appears to us to be no difficulty in the meaning. On his "promise never to go from me," he says he had kept W. Woode there three years to play St. George, &c., *i.e.* merely employed him in amusements, and now when he wanted good horsemen, he had left him.]

⁶ This is the first letter so fully dated by which the exact time of King Edward's reign can be precisely ascertained. By the tables to find Easter, it appears that in 1473, the prime being 11, and the Dominical letter C, Easter Sunday was on the 18th of April. Edward the IVth's reign began the 4th of March. The 16th of April, 1473, was therefore the 13th of Edward IV., and consequently he began his reign on the 4th of March, 1460.—N.B. The date of the new year commenced on the 25th of March.

Item, the most part of the soldiers that went over with Sir Robert Green have leave, and be coming home; the highway full, my carriage was behind me two hours longer than I looked after, but I wis I wend that I might have eaten my part on Good Friday, all my garees (*finery*) and pride had been gone, but all was safe.¹

I pray you if W. Mylsent go from you that he might come to me to Calais, I will have him.

Canterbury, Good Friday,
16th of April, 1473. 13 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXXXVII.—“FLYING TALES”

This letter shows us the unsettled state of the nation, and the apprehensions of the king concerning the coming of the Earl of Oxford.—The man's confession seems to be founded on good authority, as the earl arrived in England soon after.

To John Paston, Esq., in Norwich.

RIGHT worshipful brother, I recommend me to you, &c. (*Then follow some orders concerning servants, debts, securities, &c.*)

As for tidings, the Earl of Wiltshire² and the Lord Sudley³ be dead, and it was said, that Sir W. Stanley was dead, but now it is said nay, &c.

Item, as for your going to Saint James's, I believe⁴ it but atween two, &c.

I heard say that a man was this day examined, and he confessed that he knew great treasure was sent to the Earl of Oxford, whereof a 1000*l.* should be conveyed by a monk of Westminster, and some say by a monk of Charterhouse.

Item, that the same man should accuse an hundred gentlemen in Norfolk and Suffolk that have agreed to assist the said earl at his coming thither, which, as it is said, should be within eight days after St. Dunstan,⁵ if wind and weather serve him; flying tales.

No more at this time, but God have you in keeping. Written

¹ The sense of this latter part is not clear; perhaps he meant to say that he was so sure that his finery was lost, that he might have ventured to promise to eat his part of it on Good Friday without breaking his fast.

² John Stafford was created Earl of Wiltshire in 1470. He was brother to Henry Duke of Buckingham.

³ . . . Butler, Lord Sudley.

⁴ This seems to signify, *I do not believe it.*

⁵ In the next letter he is said to have landed in Essex on the 28th of May.

at London on St. Dunstan's day, the 18th day of May, in the 13th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, St. Dunstan's day,
Tuesday, 18th of May, 1473.
13 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXXXVIII.—MANY ATTENDANTS AND FINE
CLOTHES FOR A KNIGHT

To John Paston, Esq., be this delivered.

RIGHT worshipful brother, I recommend me to you; letting you weet that this day I was in very purpose to Calais ward all ready to have gone to the barge; save I tarried for a young man that I thought to have had with me thither, one that was with Rows which is in the country; and because I could not get him, and that I have no more here with me but Pampyng, Edward, and Jack, therefore Pampyng remembered me that at Calais he told me that he purposed to be with the Duchess of Norfolk, my lady and yours; and Edward is sick and seemeth not abiding, he would see what shall fall of this world, and so I am as he that saith; "come hither, John, my man"; and as hap was yesterday Juddy went afore to Calais ward, wherefore I am now ill purveyed; which for aught that I know yet is like to keep me here this Whitsuntide,¹ wherefore if ye know any likely men, and fair conditioned, and good archers, send them to me though it be four, and I will have them, and they shall have four marks (2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) by the year and my livery.

He may come to me hither to the Goat, or yet to Calais with a rial,² if he be wise, which if need be I would that Barker took him to come up with, if it be such one as ye trust.

Item, I suppose both Pytte and Kothye Plattyng shall go from me in haste: I will never cherish knaves so as I have done for their sakes.

Item, I pray you send me a new vestment of white damask for a deacon, which is amongst mine other gear at Norwich, for he shall thereto as ye wot of; I will make an arming doublet of it, though I should another time give a long gown of velvet for another vestment; and send it in all haste to Hoxon to send me.

I hoped to have been very merry at Calais this Whitsuntide, and am well apparelled and appointed save that these folks fail me so, and I have matter there to make of right excellent. Some

¹ Whitsunday, 6th of June, 1473.

² A rial, a gold coin of 10*s.* value.

man would have hasted him to Calais, though he had had no better errand, and some men think it wisdom and profit to be there now well out of the way.

Item, as for the bishop¹ and I, we be nearer to a point than we were, so that my part is now all the lands in Flegg wholly, the manor of Heylesdon, Tolthorpe, and tenements in Norwich and Earlham, except Fairchild's; but farewell Drayton, the devil do it them (*do them good of it*).

Item, large and fair communication hath been between Sir John Fagge and Richard Hawte for their sister and me, before Doctor Wyntborne and elsewhere, so that I am in better hope than I was by St. Lawrence² that I shall have a deliverance.

Item, as for tidings here, I trow ye have heard your part, how that the Earl of Oxford landed by St. Osyth's in Essex, the 28th day of May, save he tarried not long; for if he had the Earl of Essex³ rode to him wards, and the Lords Denham and Duras (*Galliard de Duresfort*), and other more, which by likelihood should have distressed him; but yet his coming saved Hogan his head, and his prophecy is the more believed; for he said that this trouble should begin in May, and that the king should northwards, and that the Scots should make us work and him battle.

Men look after they wot not what, but men buy harness fast; the king's menial men, and the Duke of Clarence's, are many in this town; the Lord Rivers⁴ came to-day, men say to purvey in like wise.

Item, how that the Countess of Warwick⁵ is now out of Beverley sanctuary, and Sir James Tyrell conveyeth her northwards men say by the king's assent, whereto some men say that the Duke of Clarence is not agreed.

Item, men say that the Earl of Oxford is about the Isle of Thanet, hovering, some say with great company, and some say with few.

No more, but God keep you. Written at London the 3rd day of June, in the 13th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Thursday,
3rd of June 1473. 13 E. IV.

¹ James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich, 1472.

² 10th of August.

³ Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, Lord Treasurer.

⁴ Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers, beheaded at Pontefract, 1483.

⁵ Anne, widow of Richard Neville, the great Earl of Warwick, sister and heir to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, and mother of Isabel, the wife of George Duke of Clarence.

LETTER CCCXXXIX.—OF SOME WOMEN FRIENDS

To Edmund Paston, Esq., at Calais, be this delivered.

BROTHER EDMUND, I greet you well; letting you weet that about this day sev'nnight I sent you a letter by Nicholas Bardesley, a soldier, which is wont to be at border¹ (*q. brother*) Perauntys; and also an hosedcloth² of black for you; I wend that ye should have had it within two days, but I am afraid that he deceived me.

Item, I let you weet that Plattyng is coming hither, and he saith that ye gave him leave to fetch his gear and Pytt's; and that is his errand hither and none other, nor he thought never to go from me, nor he will not go from me, as he saith; wherefore I pray you send me word of his conditions, and why ye think that he should never do me worship.

He saith also, that he and Pytt were at the taking of the Esterlings, and that he was in the Packer, and Pytt in the Cristopher; I pray you send me word how both he and Pytt quit them by the report of some indifferent true man that was there; if they quit them well I would love them the better; wherefore the next day after the sight of this letter I pray you write again, and send it by the next passage.

Item, I send a little pretty box herewith, which I would that Juddy should deliver to the woman that he weeteth of, and pray her to take it to the man that she weeteth of; that is to say as much as ye know all well enough, but ye may not make you wise in no wise. (*You must by no means seem to know anything of the business in hand.*)

Item, I pray you send me word as ye were wont to do of her welfare; and whether I were out and other in or not; and whether she shall forsake Calais as soon as ye sent me word of or not.

By God I would be with you as fain as yourself, and shall be in haste, with God's grace.

Item, as for my brother John, I hope within this month to see him in Calais; for by likelihood to-morrow, or else the next day, he taketh ship at Yarmouth, and goeth to St. James³

¹ May not this sentence be thus read? Is wont to be at border paravant this, *i.e.* is accustomed to reach the border, march or edge, of Calais much sooner,—before this,—before so much time was elapsed.

² Cloth for hosen.

³ On a pilgrimage, I suppose, to St. James of Compostella, in the province of Galicia, in Spain. [Not very likely, we think. He could scarcely have made this journey, and been at Calais "within this month," it being then the 5th.]

ward; and he hath written to me that he will come homeward by Calais.

Item, I suppose that James Songer shall come with me to Calais the rather for your sake.

Item, Mistress Elizabeth fareth well, but as yet Songer knoweth not so perfectly all that ye would weet, that he will not write to you of these two days, till he know more; but if she had been bold, and durst have abiden still at her gate, and spoken with me, so God help me, she had had this same that I send now where ye wot of, which ye shall see worn hereafter; it is a pretty ribbon with pretty aglets¹ and goodly.

Make you not wise to Juddy, neither not [*note*] that ye would weet anything, for I may say to you at his coming over he brought goodly gear reasonably.

Item, as for my bill² that is gilt, I would it were taken heed to; there is one in the town that can glaze well enough as I heard say; also there is one cometh every market day from St. Omer's to Calais, and he bringeth daggers and fetcheth also, he may have it with him, and bring it again the next market day, for 12*d.* or 16*d.* at the most; and else let it be well oiled and kept till I come.

No more. Written at London the 5th day of July, in the 13th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Monday,
5th of July, 1473. 13 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXL.—FROM LORD HASTINGS

This and the Letter cccxciv. are perhaps the only letters extant of this nobleman, who, though he disliked King Edward's queen, was a true and loyal subject to the king; and continued faithful to his young Prince Edward V., for which he lost his head in 1483. If we may judge from his expressions in these letters, he was a polite gentleman and a kind master. His remembering "his fellows, the soldiers," in an age when his noble rank placed him so high above the plebeians, characterises him as a commander attentive to the concerns of those under him.

To my right heartily-beloved friends and fellows, Sir John of Middleton, and Sir John Paston, Knights.

AFTER hearty recommendation, I thank you of the good attendance that ye gave unto the king's council at Calais; and the good and effectual devoirs that ye put you in to assist my deputy Sir John Scot, in all such things as might concern the safeguard of

¹ Pendent ornaments of metal, like tags or points, &c.

² A warlike instrument of offence.

my charge there. Letting you weet that if there be anything that I can and may do for you, I shall with right good will perform it to my power. And I pray you to recommend me to my Lady Howard,¹ my Lady Bourgchier,² and all other ladies and gentlewomen of the said town. And in likewise to the mayor, lieutenant, and fellowship of the staple; my fellows the soldiers, and all other such as (*to*) you shall seem good. And our Lord send you your desires. Written at Nottingham, the 16th day of September.

Sir John Paston,³ I pray you to give credence to such things as my deputy shall show you from me, and conform you to the same.

Your fellow,
HASTINGS.

Nottingham, 16th of September,
1473. 13 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXLI.—SIR JOHN SEEKING MONEY

To John Paston, Esq., be this delivered.

RIGHT worshipful and heartily beloved brother, I commend me to you, letting you weet that I received a letter that came from you, written circa viii Michaelis (6th October), wherein ye let me weet of the decease of Sir James (Glois), and that my mother is in purpose to be at Norwich, and I am right glad that she will now do somewhat by your advice, wherefore beware from henceforth that no such fellow creep in between her and you; and if ye list to take a little labour, ye may live right well, if she pleased; it is as good that ye ride with a couple of horses at her cost, as Sir James or Richard Calle. Ye send me word also, that she in no wise will purvey the rool. for the redeeming of Sporle; let it go: as touching that matter, John Osbern told me that he communed with you at Sporle of that matter; farther, he devised that Cocket, or such another man should, to have it the better cheap, lay out the value of six years for to have it seven years, whereto I would agree; and for God's sake, if that may be brought about, let it be done: as ye wot of, it is let for

¹ Margaret, wife of Sir John Howard, Lord Howard, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. She was daughter of Sir John Chedworth, knight, and died in 1490, 5 H. VII.

² Lady Bouchier was probably the wife of a son of Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners.

³ This last paragraph is written by Lord Hastings himself, the former part to "the xvj day of September," by his secretary.

22*l.* by the year, yet the farmer grant but 21*l.*; but to Cocket it would be worth 25*l.*; yea, and better: nevertheless, if Cocket will deliver six score pounds, I would he had it for seven years, with this, that my mother be agreeable to the same, because of the interest that she hath for my brother William, which shall not be of age this seven years; nevertheless, as ye know my old intent, I purpose to purvey for him in another place better than there; of which grant of my mother, I pray you to be my solicitor; in which, and it be brought about, Sporle shall be in as good case as ever it was.

John Osbern willed me to make you a sufficient warrant to sell and fell wood at Sporle, which I remember ye have in as ample form as can be: nevertheless, if this mean above written, of letting to farm, may be had, it shall, I hope, not need to fell nor sell much; but I remit that geer to your discretion: but if ye have such comfort, I pray you send me word.

I may say to you John Osbern flattered me, for he would have borrowed money of me. Item, in retailing of wood there, it were hard to trust him; he is needy. If Cocket, or whosoever had that manor to farm for seven years, and paid therefor but six score pounds, he should, to let it again, win 36*l.*, which be much; wherefore if it might be, it were more reasonable six score and seven pounds to be received, and yet is there lost 29*l.*, or else if ye take less money and fewer years, so it be after the rate, so there be paid 100*l.* at the least, send word.

Item, ye wrote that like a true man ye sent me 18*s.* by Richard Raddle; ye were too true: but he seems to be a false shrew, for he brought me none yet; whether he be out of town or not can I not say. Ye prayed me also to send you tidings how I sped in my matters, and in chief of Mistress Ann Hault: I have answered again from Rome, that there is the Well of Grace and salve sufficient for such a sore, and that I may be dispensed with: nevertheless my Proctor there asketh a 1000 ducats, as he deemeth; but Master Lacey, another Rome Renner (*Runner*) here, which knoweth my said Proctor there, as he saith, as well as Bernard knew his shield, saith that he meaneth but an 100 ducats, or 200 at the most; wherefore after this cometh more: he wrote to me also, *Quod Papa hoc facit hodiernis diebus multociens.*

Item, as touching Caister, I trust to God that ye shall be in it to mine use, ere Christmas be past.

Item, your host Brigham recommends him to you, and when he and I reckoned, I gave him two nobles for your board, while

ye were there in his absence; but in faith he would, for nought that I could do, take a penny; wherefore ye must thank him, or charge me to thank him on your behalf, in some next epistle that ye write to me to Calais: he let me weet that he would do more for you than so.

Item, my Lady Bouchier was almost dead, but she is amended: I trow they come into Norfolk.

Item, as for W. Barker, I hear no word from him: I pray you commune with Berney therein, he knoweth my conceit; and also I pray you hasten Berney again, I would not he played the fool, nor wasted his time nor his silver.

Item, as for the brace of growndes (*greyhounds*), or one very good, or an especial the black of Germyns; I cannot say but ye be a true man, but William Mylsent is a false shrew (*knave*), so mote I thee (*thrive*), and I trow his master is too.

Item, I must have my instruments hither, which are in the chest in my chamber at Norwich, which I pray you and Berney, together jointly, but not severally, to truss in a ped, and send them to me hither in haste, and a bill therein how many pieces: this must be had, to avoid idleness at Calais.

Item, I pray you take heed among, that my stuff take none harm, now that mine evidence, where ye wot of, be out of jeopardy.

Item, I pray you do for Berney as ye can, so that he may be in surety for his annuitym and that it be not costious (*expensive*) from hence forth to him any more, to come, or send for it. I pray you win your spurs in this matter.

Item, I proposed to have sent herewith the Testament of my father, and the citation to my mother, to you, and Arblaster; but they be not ready: within two days after the coming of this I suppose they shall be with you, and then I shall write more to you. As for other tidings, I trust to God that the two Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester shall be set at one by the award of the King.

Item, I hope by the means of the Duke of Gloucester, that my Lord Archbishop shall come home.

Item, as touching my sister Ann, I understand she hath been passing sick; but I wend that she had been wedded: as for Yelverton, he said but late, that he would have her if she had her money, and else not; wherefore methinketh that they be not very sure: but, among all other things, I pray you beware that the old love of Pampyng renew not; he is now from me: I wot not what he will do.

No more. Written at London the 22nd day of November, the 13th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Monday,
22nd of November, 1473.
13 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXLII

[THIS letter contains chiefly instructions from Sir John Paston to his brother John and his mother, as to empowering him, Sir John, to administer to his father's will. His father died in 1466, and it appears a long time to elapse without this having been done, but the date of the letter is fixed (London, Thursday, Nov. 25, 1473) by its reference to the Earl of Oxford being besieged in St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which happened in 1473, where he was captured, and afterwards imprisoned for several years in the castle of Hammes near Calais, from whence he escaped, and accompanied Henry VII. in his successful attempt on England, dying in 1512; and to his anticipated immediate possession of Caister. With reference to this place he says, "send me word if I have Caister again, whether she (*his mother*) will dwell there or not, and I will find her a priest towards at my charge, and give her the dove-house and other commodities there; and if any horse-keeper of mine lie there, I will pay for his board also, as well as for the priest's. Item, if my mother should have a new priest, I think that my brother Sir J. Goos were a meetly man to be there; he would also do as ye would have him." This is very cunning advice for his own good, and the advantages he offers to his mother of the dove-house and other commodities must have been then thought very seductive.]

LETTER CCCXLIII.—A FILIAL LETTER

Mrs. Margaret Paston, at Norwich.

RIGHT honourable and most tender good mother, I recommend me to you, beseeching you to have, as my trust is that I have, your daily blessing; and thank you of your good motherhood, kindness, cheer, charge, and costs, which I had and put you to at my last being with you, which God give me grace hereafter to deserve!

Please it you to weet, that I think long that I hear not from you, or from Peacock your servant, for the knowledge how he hath

done in the sale of my farm barley, nor what is made thereof; wherefore I beseech you, if it be not answered by that time that this bill cometh to you, to haste him and it hitherward; for if that had not tarried me I deem I had been at Calais by this day; for it is so, as men say, that the French king with a great host is at Amiens, but threescore miles from Calais; and if he or his rode before Calais, and I not there, I would be sorry.

Item, men say that the Earl of Oxford hath been constrained to sue for his pardon only of his life; and his body, goods, lands, with all the remanent, at the king's will, and so should in all haste now come in to the king; and some men say that he is gone out of the Mount, men wot not to what place, and yet left a great garrison there, well furnished in victual and all other thing.

Item, as for the having again of Caister, I trust to have good tidings thereof hastily.

Item, my brother John fareth well, and hath done right diligently in my cousin Elizabeth Berney's matter, whereof hastily I trust he shall send her tidings that shall please her; and as to-morrow he purposeth to take his journey to Wales ward to the Lord Rivers.

No more at this time, but Jesu have you in his keeping.

Written at London the 20th day of February, in the 13th year of Edward IV.

Your son,
J. PASTON, *knight*.

London, Sunday,
20th of February, 1473.
13 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXLIV.—THE KING IS ATTRACTED TO NORFOLK

We have in this letter a pleasing account of the intended excursion of the king into divers counties in 1474; the motive of which most probably was to raise, more easily by his presence and cheerful address, benevolences upon his subjects towards the expenses of his war with France. We are here informed likewise that the county of Norfolk had been highly spoken of to the king, not only for the riches and hospitality of its inhabitants, but for the beauty and agreeable behaviour of its women; a reason sufficient for so long a stay amongst them, as seemed intended to be made, by an amorous and handsome monarch.

To his brother Sir John Paston, Knight, be this letter delivered.

SIR, I recommend me unto you, letting you weet that . . .

As for my lord treasurer¹ he was not with the king of all the council time,² the which was ended on the 3d day of March.

¹ William Grey, Bishop of Ely.

² The sitting of parliament.

And thither came my Lord of Northumberland¹ the first day of March, and departed the even afore the making of this letter; and hath indented with the king for the keeping out of the Scots, and warring on them; and shall have large money, I cannot tell the sum for certain.

Also there is a rover taken at Bristol, one Cowper, as I ween, and he is like to be hanged, and he confesseth more of his fellows. Also Edward Heestowe of Dover is appeached of treason of many strange points; and his accuser and he were both afore the king, and then they were taken apart; and he himself confessed it that his accuser accused him of, and many other things more than he was accused of. And he had many lords and gentlemen to answer for his truth and his demeaning afore time, for as I heard say, both the king in a manner, nor none of the other lords nor gentlemen, believed not his accuser till that he confessed it himself, and so he is in the Tower, and like to be dead.²

As for the king's coming into the country; on Monday come fortnight he will lie at the abbey of Stratford, and so to Chelmsford; then to Sir Thomas Montgomery's; then to Heveningham; then to Colchester; then to Ipswich; then to Bury; then to Dame Anne Wingfield's, and so to Norwich; and there will he be on Palm Sunday even;³ and so tarry there all Easter,⁴ and then to Walsingham;⁵ wherefore ye had need to warn William Gogney and his fellows to purvey them of wine enough, for every man beareth me in hand that the town shall be drank dry as York was when the king was there.

Sir, Master Sampson recommend him unto you, and he hath sent you a ring by Edmond Dorman; and besides that, he required me to write unto you that it were best for you to purvey you of some gentlemany things against the king's coming, for sure he will bring you guests enough, and therefore purvey you thereafter. Also, he sendeth you word that it is my lord's mind that my sister, with all other goodly folks thereabout, should accompany with Dame Elizabeth Calthorp,⁶ because there is

¹ Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; this contract was entered into by him most probably as Warden of the Marches; a place of trust, honour, and profit. This nobleman was cruelly murdered by a mob in Yorkshire, when he was there levying a public tax in 1489.

² This expression seems to insinuate that he would be executed privately in the Tower. [We see no reason for this supposition. We think it is merely meant that he was not likely to be pardoned.]

³ 3rd of April, 1474.

⁴ 10th of April, 1474. [It will be borne in mind that the year commenced on March 25.]

⁵ I suppose to pay his devotions to the image of Our Lady there.

⁶ Widow of Sir John Calthorp, and daughter of Roger Wentworth, Esq.

no great lady thereabout, against the king's coming; for my lord hath made great boast of the fair and good gentlewomen of the country; and so the king said he would see them sure.

Sir, my lord hath sent unto the most part of the gentlemen of Essex to wait upon him at Chelmsford, whereas he intendeth to meet with the king, and that they be well appointed, that the Lancashire men may see that there be gentlemen of so great substance that they be able to buy all Lancashire. Men think that ye among you will do the same.

Your country is greatly boasted of, also the inhabitants of the same. I beseech you to remember my horse that you promised me. God keep you.

Written at Sheen, in haste, the 7th day of March, with the hand of your brother,

WILLIAM PASTON.

Sheen, Monday,
7th of March, 1473.
14 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXLV.—LOOKING FOR A WIFE

To Sir John Paston, or to his brother Edmund in his absence, lodged at the George, by Paul's Wharf, in London.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, praying you to remember, ere ye depart out of London, to speak with Harry Eberton's wife, Draper, and to inform her that I am proffered a marriage in London, which is worth 600 marks (400*l.*) and better, with whom I prayed you to commune, inasmuch as I might not tarry in London myself; always reserving, that if so be that Mistress Eberton will deal with me, that ye should not conclude in the other place; though so were that Eberton would not give so much with Mistress Elizabeth his daughter, as I might have with the other, for such fantasy as I have in the said Mistress Elizabeth Eberton; and that it like you to say to Eberton's wife, that such as I spake to her of shall be bettered rather than empeyred (*made worse*) as for my part; and if it like her to deal with me, I will be at London for that cause only within fourteen days after the writing of this letter, with God's grace, who preserve you and your's. Written at Norwich, on Saint James's day.

Also, Sir, I pray you that ye will, as I desired you, commune with John Lee, or his wife, or both, and to understand how the matter at the Black Fryers doth, and that ye will see and speak

with the thing yourself, and with her father and her mother, ere ye depart; and that it like you to desire John Lee's wife to send me a bill in all haste possible, how far forth the matter is, and whether it shall be necessary for me to come up to London hastily or not, or else to cast all at the Cock. Also, I pray you that Pitt may truss in a mail, which I left in our chamber at London, my tawny gown furred with black, and the doublet of purple satin, and the doublet of black satin, and my writing box of cypress, and my "Book of the Meeting of the Duke and of the Emperor"; and when all this geer is trussed in the mail, to deliver it to the bearer hereof, to bring me to Norwich.

Item, I send you herewith the pillion for the mail, and 10s. for the hire, which is usury, I take God to record.

Also, that it like you to speak to your apothecary, which was sometime the (*late*) Earl of Warwick's apothecary, and to weet of him what the widow of the Black Fryars is worth, and what her husband's name was: he can tell all, for he is executor to the widow's husband. I pray you forget me not, no more than I do you.

I have spoken this day with James Hubbard (*Hobart*), and with Harry Smyth; and to-morrow I shall have an answer of them.

Also my mother will labour this matter with effect, that the 200 marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) may be had for the wood.

Also, brother Edmund, I pray you, and my brother Sir John be not in London, that ye will labour all these matters with effect, as my trust is in you in every point as is above written.

Also, I ascertain you that I was with Ferroure this day, and he had not leisure to commune with me; but I will be with him again to-morrow by appointment betwixt him and me; and so as I speed I shall send you word by the next man that cometh to London.

Also I sent John Lee's wife a letter by one Crawthorn, dwelling in Wood Street, or else in Silver Street, at the end of Wood Street; I pray you weet whether she had it or not; and she had it not, brother Edmund, I pray you go to the same Crawthorn, and take the letter of him, and deliver it her in all haste.

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Monday,
25th of July, 1474. 14 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXLVI

[SIR JOHN PASTON here writes to his mother about the means of raising money, but the details are uninteresting. He had been on a visit to his mother, and had been ill, but says he had quite recovered, thanks to her care. He mentions that Courby the carrier hath had "40*d.* to pay for the third hired horse, and he bringeth the three horses with him, and is content for the labour and the meat largely"; this seems a small sum for a journey from Norwich to London and back; the more so as in the previous letter his brother sends him ten shillings for the conveyance of the trunk with his clothes and writing-desk. He concludes the letter in a style that does credit to his taste, and displays some humour. "As for the books that were Sir James's (*Gloys, the priest's*), if it like you that I may have them, I am not able to buy them, but somewhat would I give, and the remanent, with a good devout heart by my troth, I will pray for his soul; wherefore, if it like you, by the next messenger or carrier to send them in a day, I shall have them dressyd [*re-bound*, or perhaps *addressed*] here, and if any of them are claimed hereafter in faith I will restore it." The last promise shows it was so common to borrow books, then both scarce and valuable, that it was likely upon a scholar's death that some of them might be reclaimed. Dated Saturday, before November, 1474.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXLVII

[THIS letter is again about money from Sir John to his mother. His uncle William had lent him money, which enabled him to redeem the manor of Sporle, but only on sufficient security, for he says, "I am as much afraid of this land that is in his hand as I was of that that was in Townshend's (*his former creditor*) hand." He again reverts to the books. "As for the books that were Sir James's, God have his soul! which it liketh you that I shall have them, I beseech you that I might have them hither by the next messenger; and if I be gone, yet that they be delivered to mine hostess at the George at Paul's Wharf, which will keep them safe; and that it like you to write to me what the pain or payment shall be for them." Dated London, Sunday, Nov. 20, 1474.]

LETTER CCCXLVIII.—OF VARIOUS LADIES

*To John Paston, Esq., at Norwich, or to Roose, dwelling afore
Mrs. Paston's gate in Norwich.*

RIGHT worshipful and well-beloved brother, I recommend me to you; letting you weet that I have communed with your friend Danson, and have received your ring of him, and he hath by mine advice spoken with her two times; ¹ he telleth me of her dealing and answers, which if they were according to his saying, a fainter lover than ye would, and well ought to, take therein great comfort, so that (*even though*) he might haply sleep the worse three nights after.

And such dealing in part as was between my Lady W. and your friend Danson he wrote me a bill thereof, which I send you herewith; and that that longeth to me to do therein it shall not fail to leave all other business apart; nevertheless within three days I hope so to deal herein that I suppose to set you in certainty how that ye shall find her for ever hereafter.

It is so, as I understand, that ye be as busy on your side for your friend Danson whereas [*where*] ye be; I pray God send you both good speed in these works, which, if they be brought about, each of you is much beholden to other; yet were it pity that such crafty wooers as ye be both should speed well, but if (*unless*) ye love truly.²

Item, as for Stocton's daughter, she shall be wedded in haste to Skeerne, as she told herself to my silkmaid,³ which maketh part of such as she shall wear, to whom she broke (*opened*) her heart, and told her that she should have had Master Paston, and my maid wend it had been I that she spoke of; and with more (*moreover*) that the same Master Paston come where she was with twenty men, and would have taken her away; I told my maid that she lied of me, and that I never spoke with her in my life, nor that I would not wed her to have with her three thousand marks (2000*l.*).

¹ I do not know to whom this refers: it relates to some lady to whom he then paid his addresses (the Lady W. after-mentioned I suppose), and who by the next letter appears to be Lady Walgrave, widow of Sir Richard Walgrave, knight. [He appears to have been a very general but unsuccessful wooer.]

² [This is a very pleasant and good-humoured bit of sarcasm. Sir John seems always to have a pretty correct conception of the characters of those he addresses.]

³ A person who made gowns of silk, &c., for both men and women, as appears from the manner in which she is here mentioned.

Item, as for Eberton's daughter, my brother Edmond saith that he heard never more speech thereof since your departing, and that ye would that he should not break nor do nothing therein but if it came of their beginning.

Item, I had answer from my lord¹ that he is my special good lord, and that by writing; and as for Berney he set him in his own wages for my sake, and that whensoever I come to Calais I shall find all thing there as I would have it, and rather better than it was heretofore.

Item, the king came to this town on Wednesday; as for the French embassy² (*embassy*) that is here, they come not in the king's presence by likelihood, for men say that the chief of them is he that poisoned both the Duke of Berry and the Duke of Calabria.

Item, there was never more likelihood that the king should go over sea this next year than was now.

I pray you remember that I may have the pewter vessel hither by the next carrier by the latter end of this week.

Item, I pray you remember so that I may have the books by the same time, which my mother said she would send me by the next carrier.

Written at London, the Sunday the 20th of November, in the 14th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, dunday,
20th of November, 1474.
14 E. IV.

¹ I am not certain whether the Duke of Norfolk is here meant, or Lord Hastings the then governor of Calais.

² For the better understanding of this curious anecdote, which reflects honour on King Edward both as a sovereign prince and a man, it will be necessary to inform the reader that, in 1472, Lewis XI., King of France, finding himself drawn into a war with the Duke of Burgundy in order to bring about a marriage between his brother Charles, Duke of Berry and Guienne, and Mary the daughter and heir of that duke, employed proper persons to destroy his brother, and by that means to extricate him from these troubles. The death of the Duke of Berry was effected by a slow poison, of which he died in May, 1472, aged about 26 years. Mary, the richest heiress of her time, was born in 1457, and by her father, the Duke of Burgundy, was promised in marriage to various potentates, and amongst the rest, to Nicholas of Anjou, Duke of Calabria and Lorraine. This prince died in August, 1473, aged about 25, here said by poison administered by the same hand that took off the Duke of Berry.

LETTER CCCXLIX.—A HARD-HEARTED WOMAN

We are in this letter brought acquainted with the manners of the time. The lady shows herself a woman of honour, and above giving hope when she meant not to encourage the addresses of J. Paston. She was the widow of Sir Richard Walgrave, knight, a Yorkist, who was with the Earl of Kent at the taking of the town of Coquet and the Isle of Rhée; he died young, and was succeeded by his brother Sir Thomas Walgrave. [Another unsuccessful attempt by poor John Paston.]

To John Paston, Esq.

BROTHER, I recommend me to you; letting you weet that I have, like as I promised you, I have done my devoir to know my Lady Walgrave's stomach (*resolution*), which, as God help me, and to be plain to you, I find in her no matter nor cause that I might take comfort of.

She will in no wise receive nor keep your ring with her, and yet I told her that she should not be anything bound thereby; but that I knew by your heart of old that I wist well ye would be glad to forbear the levest thing that ye had in the world, which might be daily in her presence, that should cause her once on a day to remember you; but it would not be, she would not thereby, as she said, put you nor keep you in any comfort thereby.

And moreover she prayed me that I should never take labour more herein, for she would hold her to such answer as she had given you tofore; wherewith she thought both ye and I would have held us content, had not been the words of her sister Genevieve.

When I understood all this, and that over night she bade her that went between her and me bid me bring with me her muskball¹ which, &c., then I after all this asked if she were displeased with me for it, and she said, nay.

Then I told her that I had not sent it you, for sin of my soul; and so I told her all, how I had written to you why that I would not send it you, because I wist well ye should have slept the worse; but now, I told her, as God help me, that I would send it you, and give you mine advice not to hope over much on her, which is over hard an hearted lady for a young man to trust unto; which I thought that for all my words ye could not nor would not do for all mine advice.

Yet againwards she is not displeased, nor forbid me not but

¹ This muskball, or ball of perfume, seems to have been taken from Lady Walgrave by Sir John Paston in a jesting manner, to send to his brother as a present from her.

that ye should have the keeping of her muskball; wherefore do ye with it as ye like; I would it had done well by good, I spake for you so that in faith I trow I could not say so well again; wherefore I send you herewith your ring and the unhappy muskball; also make ye matter of it hereafter as ye can, I am not happy to woo neither for myself nor none other.

I told her all the process of the Lord Howard¹ and of your grounds as I could, all helps not.

(Here follows some displeasure at his uncle William's proceedings in matters between them, &c., of no consequence.)

I hear no word of my vessel nor of my books; I marvel. No more. Written at London, the 11th day of December, in the 14th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Sunday,
11th of December, 1474.
14 E. IV.

LETTER CCCL.—SIR JOHN TO JOHN HIS BROTHER

To the right worshipful John Paston, Esq., at Norwich, or to his mother, Margaret Paston, in his absence, in haste.

I RECOMMEND me to you, praying you heartily, that I may have weeting when that my Lord and Lady of Norfolk shall be at London, and how long they shall tarry there, and in especial my Lord of Norfolk; for upon their coming to London were it for me to be guided; nevertheless I would be sorry to come there but if I needs must. I think it would be to you over irksome a labour to solicit the matters atween them and me, but if I were there myself; wherefore, if ye think it be convenient that I come thither, I pray you send me word as hastily as ye may, and by what time ye think most convenient that I should be there; and of all such comfort as ye find or hear of the towardness thereof, and when also that ye shall be there yourself; for it is so that as to-morrow I purpose to ride into Flanders to purvey me of horse and harness; percase I shall see the siege of Nuys² ere I come again if I have time; wherefore, if I so do, by likelihood it will be a fourteen days ere I be here again; and after, as I hear from you and others thereupon, that at the next passage, and God will, I purpose to come to London ward: God

¹ He was afterwards Duke of Norfolk.

² [Nuys is a town in Germany, in the government circle of Cologne, in Rhenish Prussia, on the west side of the Rhine.]

send me good speed; in chief for the matter above written; and secondly, for to appoint with the king and my lord for such retinue as I should have now in these wars into France; wherefore I pray you in Norfolk and other places, commune with such as ye think likely for you and me that are disposed to take wages in gentlemen's houses and elsewhere, so that we may be the more ready when that need is; nevertheless at this hour I would be glad to have with me daily three or four more than I have, such as were likely; for I lack of my retinue that I have near so many.

I pray you send me some tidings, such as ye hear, and how that my brother Edmund doth; for as for tidings here there be but few, save that the siege lasteth still by the Duke of Burgundy afore Nuys, and the emperor¹ hath besieged also, not far from thence, a castle and another town in like wise, wherein the duke's men be.

And also the French king, men say, is coming nigh to the water of Somme with 4000 spears, and some men trow (*think*) that he will, at the day of breaking of truce,² or else before, set upon the duke's countries here.

When I hear more I shall send you more tidings.

The king's ambassadors Sir Thomas Montgomery and the Master of the Rolls³ be coming homeward from Nuys,⁴ and as for me I think that I should be sick but if (*unless*) I see it.

Sir John of Parre and William Berkeley came this way to Flanders ward to buy them horse and harness, and (*I*) made Sir J. Parre good cheer as I could for your sake; and he told me that ye made him haulte (*high*) cheer, &c. at Norwich. No more. Written at Calais, the 17th day of January, in the 14th year of Edward IV.

Calais, Tuesday,
17th of January, 1474.
14 E. IV.

¹ Frederick III. of Austria, Emperor of Germany.

² This truce between Lewis XI., King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy was to be at an end in the beginning of the summer in 1475.

³ Dr. John Morton, afterwards Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal.

⁴ The duke persisted in this siege, though the emperor with a large force was in the neighbourhood, much to his own disadvantage, as it prevented his meeting the King of England; and at last the siege was raised on certain conditions.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLI

[MARGARET PASTON writes to her son John again about money, complaining that Robert Clere had not been paid 20*l.* lent by him and his mother to Sir John; she supposes that William Paston ought to have paid it, "for he hath a surety for all that and more," but he had refused unless on the delivery of some pledges of Margaret Paston's then in the hands of Clere. Margaret Paston requests her son to ascertain "in haste," and let her "understand how it is," "for I were loath to lose my pledges; I wot it well your good uncle would be in possession with good will, but I would not so." She next alludes to other matters of family discontent. Agnes Paston had been for some time living in London, and Margaret says: "Remember me to your grandam; I would she were here in Norfolk, as well at ease as ever I saw her, and as little ruled by her son as ever she was, and then I would hope that we all should fare the better for her." This son was no doubt the "uncle William" so often alluded to, of whom the rest of the family seem to have been very willing to borrow money, and very much surprised at being expected to pay; whether or not he was aware of this family defect, he seems to have been by no means wanting in a due regard to his own advantage in all these bargains, and to have considered all that was legal as just and right. From money-lending Margaret Paston passes to religious matters, and one of her reasons for desiring a licence for her chapel appears to point to the evil of non-residence even in those days. She says, "I would ye should speak with my Lord of Norwich, and assay to get a licence of him that I may have the sacrament here in the chapel, because it is far to the church, and I am sickly, and the parson is often out." She was then residing at Mawteby, whence this letter is dated, Saturday, Jan. 29, 1474. In a sort of postscript she mentions a curious circumstance connected with the currency. Fenn considers it to allude to the alloy oxydising, but this could hardly be the case to an extent sufficient to prevent the money from passing. At least we have never seen specimens of any such coin. She says: "My cousin Robert told me that there was more than 7*l.* of the money that was paid him that was right on [*thoroughly*] rusty, and he could not have it changed: he was ungoodly [*not well*] served therein." We rather think it means coin of an early date, not at that time commonly current.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLII

[THIS letter is written from Norwich on the same day as the last, by Margaret Paston to her other son, Sir John, and contains nearly a repetition of the money affairs mentioned in the previous letter. Edward IV. had been recently exacting a benevolence, as it was termed (a task or tax, as the writers of these letters call it), in the city and county, and the withdrawal of such large sums of money is stated to have had a most depressing effect upon prices. She says: "As for Sporle wood, before the king's coming into Norfolk I might have had chapmen to have bought it a gret (*in the gross*) for twelve score marks (160*l.*), and now there will no man buy it a gret, because of the great good (*large sums*) that the people is laid to [*assessed*] for the king; wherefore we are about to retail it as well as we may. . . . As for your barley in this country, it cannot be sold above 10*d.* or 11*d.* that is the greatest price of barley here, and but it be at a better price I purpose for to do it malt (*malt it*). . . . Malt is sold here but for 13*d.*, and wheat 2*s.* or 26*d.* at this time, and oats 12*d.* There is none outload suffered to go out of this country as yet; the king hath commanded that there should none go out of this land. I fear me we shall have right a strange world; God amend it, when his will is." The quantity worth the above-named prices was no doubt the comb, equal to two bushels, a term still frequently used in reckoning in the eastern counties. The low price is confirmed by the list of prices in Eden's *State of the Poor*; in Appendix, page xi, he gives the price of oats in 1475 as 1*s.* 10*d.* per quarter. The attempt to regulate prices by preventing traffic seems to have been constant, and always to have been attended with suffering. She concludes with an account of the books so earnestly desired by Sir John. "As for the books that ye desired to have of Sir James's, the best of all and the fairest is claimed; nor it is not in his inventory. I shall assay to get it for you an I may; the price of these other books, besides that, is 20*s.* 6*d.* the which I send ye a bill of. If ye like by the price of them, and ye will have them, send me word."]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLIII

[SIR J. PASTON writes from Calais, Sunday, Feb. 5, 1474-5, to "his brother John Paston, or to his uncle William Paston in Warwick Lane, or to Edmund Paston at the George at Paul's Wharf," explaining that he is prevented from leaving Calais

to urge his suit respecting Caister, and entreating of all or any of them to do all for him that they possibly can. The details are wholly uninteresting.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLIV

[In this letter Sir John Paston answers his mother's letter (ccclii.). Having now got a price fixed on the books, he seems indifferent about them; he probably wished his offer as to paying in prayers to have been accepted. "As for the books that were Sir James's, God have his soul! [he continues to pray] I think best that they be still with you, till that I speak with you myself. My mind is not now most upon books." The rest of the letter consists of details as to his money transactions. It is dated Calais, Feb. 22, 1474-5.]

LETTER CCCLV.—UNCERTAINTY OF LETTERS

Mrs. Margaret Paston, to her son John Paston.

JOHN PASTON, I send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet, that I had none ere this letter than on Saint Matthew's even; ¹ if I might have had a messenger ere this time I had sent it you; I con you thank for the letter that ye sent to my cousin Calthorp and me of the tidings; I would ye should do so more. As ye may remember that I spake to you for the 20*l.* for my cousin Clere, speak to your uncle thereof, and send me an answer thereof in haste.

And for the licence ² that I spake to you, for to have the sacrament in my chapel, if ye cannot get it of the Bishop of Norwich, get it of the Bishop of Canterbury, for that is most sure for all places.

God keep you. Written on Midlent Sunday.

Midlent Sunday,
5th of March, 1474. 15 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLVI

[A NEGOTIATION for a marriage. Fenn says that the gentleman was John Berney, of Reedham, Esq., and that the negotiation

¹ [St. Matthew's anniversary is September 21. St. Matthias's (in original "Sent Matheus") is February 23.]

² We are here informed that the archbishop's licence was preferable to that of the diocesan, and seems to have had greater privileges annexed to it.

was successful, as he married Alice, daughter of Richard Southwell, Esq., of Wood-rising in Norfolk, the writer of this letter to John Paston, Esq. We give all but the complimentary part of the letter. "And, cousin, in the matter that it liked you to remember me in, both to my worship and pleasure, I fear me that neither my poor daughter nor poor purse can nor may be to his pleasure; would God either might; and I should take me right near to his pleasure, saving myself, I ensure you by my troth; and how to understand his disposition and pleasure therein, I see no mean as thus advised, but if it might please you by your wisdom to attempt it farther, as ye seem most convenient, and thereupon to be guided by your good advice, as the case shall require, wherein ye shall bind me hereafter to do that may be your pleasure to my power, and yet with no better will than I have had, so God help me, who have you ever in his keeping, and send you your heart's desire to his pleasure; and if it please you to remember farther in the premises, I trust ye shall lose no labour on my poor part; howbeit I fear me sore, as I began, both of my poor daughter and purse." Dated Wood-rising, March 26, about 1475.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLVII

[MARGARET PASTON again writes to Sir John, chiefly details about money matters; money, she says, is very scarce; "the king goeth so near us in this country, both to poor and rich, that I wot not how we shall live, but if the world amend: God amend it, when his will is. I can neither sell corn nor cattle to no good preve (*profit*). Malt is here but at 10*d.* a comb; wheat, a comb, 28*d.*; oats, a comb, 10*d.*; and thereof is but little to get here at this time." She says Peacock, apparently his steward, hath paid for him two tasks (*subsidies*) at this time. Her ideas of soldiership are remarkably clear for a female, and her recommendation to Sir John, who had served, good. "If your brethren go over the sea, advise them as ye think best for their safe-guard, for some of them be but young soldiers, and wot full little what it is to be as a soldier, nor for to endure to do as a soldier should do." The letter is dated Mawteby, Tuesday, May 23, 1475.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLVIII

[SIR JOHN PASTON writes to his brother Edmund, that a vacancy has occurred at Calais, and that he may "come and live like a gentleman," if he can manage to obtain the appointment;

“else,” he adds, “if ye dispose you to abide in England, since it is so that the Bishop of Lincoln is chancellor, his service is the meeter for you, he is next neighbour to Norfolk of any estate: God send you some good ward of his.” Place-hunting, from a place under the government to one under a private nobleman, seems to have been the general pursuit, and by no means incompatible with the character of a gentleman. The letter is dated Calais, Tuesday, June 13, 1475.]

LETTER CCCLIX.—DELAYS IN CORRESPONDENCE

To the right worshipful Sir John Paston, Knight, in haste.

RIGHT well-beloved son, &c. (*The chief part of this letter relates to Sir John Paston's private affairs, his rents and lands, and it informs him that William Jenney had entered into Holmhall, in Filby, in the right and title of his daughter-in-law, which was Boys' daughter, &c.*)

As for tidings here in this country, we have none but that the country is barren of money; and that my Lady of York¹ and all her household is here at Saint Bennet's, and purposed to abide there still till the king come from beyond the sea, and longer if she like the air there, as it is said.

I think right long till I hear some tidings for you and from your brethren. I pray God send you and all your company good speed in your journeys, to his pleasure and to your worships and profits.

Written at Mawteby, on Saint Laurence's even, the 15th year of the reign of King Edward the IV.

By your
MOTHER.

Mawteby, Thursday,
10th of August, 1475. 15 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLX

[SIR JOHN PASTON writes to his mother from Calais, and announces the conclusion of the journey to France of Edward IV. He had raised large sums in England to carry on a war against the French in alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, but the latter failing him, and, it is said, his ministers being bribed by the

¹ Cecily, Duchess of York, daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland, was the widow of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and mother of King Edward IV., &c. She died in 1495, and was buried near her husband in the college of Fotheringay.

French king, a peace for seven years was concluded, after a personal interview between the two monarchs at Pecquigni, where they met on a bridge across the Somme. It contains no other matter of interest, and to this there is a mere allusion. Dated Monday, Sept. 11, 1475.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXI

[JOHN PASTON writes to his brother Sir John of the further progress towards the recovery of Caister. He says the king has promised there shall be no delay beyond the 3rd November of the present year; that the Duke of Norfolk's council acknowledge his right; and that "my lady sweareth, and so doth Barnard on her behalf, that she would as fain ye had it as any body; notwithstanding she said not so to me since I came home, for I spake not to her but once since I saw you last." He complains of illness occasioned by taking cold, both at Calais and since his return home; and says, "but I was never so well armed for the war, as I have now armed me for cold; wherefore I advise you take example by me if it happen you to be sick, as ye were when I was at Calais, in any wise keep you warm. I ween Harry Wodehouse nor James Arblaster wear never at once so many coats, hose and boots as I do, or else by God we had gone therefore; what we shall yet I cannot say, but I bear me bold on two days amending." Rather a short time to recommend his experience so confidently. Dated Norwich, Tuesday, Oct. 10, 1475.]

LETTER CCCLXII.—THE KING AND CAISTER

This letter records a most curious conversation between the king, the Duke of Norfolk, and Sir William Brandon, relative to Caister. Sir William Brandon was father of Charles Brandon, afterwards created Duke of Suffolk.

To Sir John Paston, Knight, lodged at the George, by Paul's Wharf, in London.

AFTER all duties of recommendation, please it you to understand that I have spoken with my lady since I wrote to you last; and she told me that the king had no such words to my lord for Caister as ye told me; but she saith that the king asked my lord at his departing from Calais how he would deal with Caister, and my lord answered never a word.

Sir W. Brandon stood by, and the king asked him what my lord would do in that matter; saying that he had commanded

him before time to move my lord with that matter, and Sir W. Brandon gave the king to answer that he had done so; then the king asked Sir W. B. what my lord's answer was to him, and Sir W. B. told the king that my lord's answer was that the king should as soon have his life as that place; and then the king asked my lord whether he said so or not, and my lord said, yea. And the king said not one word again, but turned his back, and went his way; but my lady told me and the king had spoken any word in the world after that to my lord, my lord would not have said him nay.

And I have given my lady warning that I will do my lord no more service; but ere we parted she made me to make her promise, that I should let her have knowledge ere I fastened myself in any other service; and so I departed, and see her not since, nor nought purpose to do till I speak with you.

I pray you bring home some hats with you, or and ye come not hastily send me one, &c., and I shall pay you for it a comb oats¹ when ye come home.

My mother would fain have you at Mawteby; she rode thither out of Norwich on Saturday last past to purvey your lodging ready against your coming.

I have been right sick again since I wrote to you last, and this same day have I been passing sick; it will not out of my stomach by no mean, I am undone, I may not eat half enough when I have most hunger, I am so well dieted, and yet it will not be. God send you heele, for (I) have none three days together, do the best I can.

Written at Norwich, the Monday next before Saint Simon and Jude, in the 15th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Monday,
23rd of October, 1475. 15 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXIII.—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK DEAD

[This letter contains an account of the death of the Duke of Norfolk, and of his funeral.] John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, &c., was retained by Edward IV. to serve him in his wars in France in 1473; he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, and died suddenly at his castle of Framlingham on the 17th of January, 1475, 15 E. IV., and

¹ In 1475, a comb of oats sold for 11d., we have therefore the value of a hat in this reign. [The price of "hattes of wolfe" in 1480 varied from xiiid. to viiid. each; while bonnets, in the same entry, are set down at iis. vid. and iiis. each. See Sir N. H. Nicolas's *Wardrobe Expenses of Edward IV.* p. 119.]

was buried in the abbey church of Thetford in Norfolk. He left an only daughter and heir, Anne, married in her early age to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, who dying without issue, the great possessions and honours of this noble family came to Sir John Howard, knight, Lord Howard, whose mother was a sister and co-heir of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk [Though Sir John says the duke's death occurred "not in the most happy season" for him, he instantly took possession of Caister, and succeeded in retaining it.]

This letter has no direction, but it is written either to John Paston, Esq., or Margaret Paston.

LIKE it you to weet, that, not in the most happy season for me, it is so fortun'd that, whereas my Lord of Norfolk, yesterday being in good health, this night died about midnight, wherefore it is for all that loved him to do and help now that that may be to his honour and weal to his soul; and it is so that this country is not well purveyed of cloth of gold for the covering for his body and herse; wherefore every man helping to his power, I put the council of my lord in comfort that I hoped to get one for that day, if it were so that it be not broken or put to other use; wherefore please it you to send me word if it be so that ye have, or can come by, the cloth of tissue that I bought for our father's tomb, and I undertake it shall be saved again for you unhurt at my peril; I deem hereby to get great thanks and great assistance in time to come; and that either Sym or Mother Brown may deliver it to me to-morrow by seven of the clock.

Item, as for other means I have sent my servant Richard Toring to London, which I hope shall bring me good tidings again, and within four days I hope to see you.

Written on Wednesday, the 17th day of January, in the 15th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Framlingham, Wednesday,
17th of January, 1475. 15 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXIV

[JOHN PASTON writes to his brother that his entering so quickly upon Caister has been very ill taken, "insomuch that some say that ye tendered little my lord's death, inasmuch as ye would so soon enter upon him after his decease, without advice and assent of my lord's council; wherefore it is thought here by such as be your friends in my lord's house, that if my lady have once the grant of the wardship of the child,¹ that she will occupy

¹ [The duchess had just been delivered of a daughter, the Lady Anne, mentioned in the preceding letter.]

Caister with other lands, and lay the default on your unkind hastiness of entry without her assent; wherefore in any wise get you a patent of the king ensealed before her's, an ye may by any mean possible." We shall see that this advice was successfully followed. The rest of the letter is about raising of money for John Paston, who it appears was going again to Calais, as he requests his brother to get him excused from keeping a horse there because hay was so dear. Dated Norwich, Tuesday, Jan. 23, 1475.]

LETTER CCCLXV.—SUNDRY ITEMS OF NEWS

I have given the whole of this letter as conveying to us some information relative to the ordinary transactions of the times. The anecdote of the Duke of York's marrying Anne, the daughter of the deceased Duke of Norfolk, depending on the duchess (who appears to have been left with child at the duke's decease) not having a son, is I believe both new and curious, and shows us that alliances were estimated according to the possessions and pecuniary advantages they brought with them.

To John Paston, Esq., at Norwich, be this delivered.

I RECOMMEND me to you, letting you weet that I was informed by Richard Radle that one Scarlett, that was under-sheriff to Hastings,¹ would sue to me on your behalf, for that ye were displeased with a return of nichil² upon you in the said Hastings' time; wherefore Richard Radle thought that the said Scarlett would be glad to give a noble (6s. 8d.) or a rial (10s.) for a saddle to amends, so that ye would cease and stop the bill which ye intend to put into the court against his master Hastings. Wherefore the said Scarlett came to me, and prayed me to help in the same, and so I have done my devoir to feel of him the most he can find in his stomach to depart with to please you, and in conclusion I trow he shall give you a doublet cloth of silk, price 20s. or thereabout; which, upon such answer as I hear from you, I deem that Bishop the attorney shall, if I conclude with him on your behalf, pay in money or otherwise to whom that ye will assign here.

I shall by the means of Radle weet at whose suit it was taken out; I deem it something done by craft, by the means of them that have entresse (*interest*) in your land to the intent to noise it theirs, or to make you past shame of the selling thereof.

¹ John Hastings was sheriff of Norfolk the preceding year.

² Nihils, or nichils, are issues which the sheriff that is apposed in the Exchequer says are *nothing worth* and illeviable through the insufficiency of the parties from whom due.

Item, I have received a letter from you written on Tuesday last.

Item, where that some towards my Lady of Norfolk noise that I did unkindly to send so hastily to Caister as I did, there is no discreet person that so thinketh; for if my lord had been as kind to me as he might have been, and according to such heart and service as my grandfather, my father, yourself, and I, have ought and done to my Lords of Norfolk that dead been, and yet if I had wedded his daughter yet must I have done as I did; and moreover, if I had had any deeming of my lord's death four hours ere he died, I must needs but if I would be known a fool have entered it the hour before his decease; but in effect they that in that matter have always meant unkindly to me, they feign that rumour against me; but there is none that meant truly to him that dead is that would be sorry that I had it, and in especial such as love his soul.

Item, where it is deemed that my lady would hereafter be the rather mine heavy (*unkind*) lady for that dealing, I think that she is too reasonable so to be, for I did it not unwist to her council; there was no man thought that I should do otherwise, and as to say that I might have had my lady's advice and leave, I might have tarried yet ere I could have spoken with her, or yet have had any body to have moved her there on my behalf, as ye wot I did what I could; moreover I tarried by the advice of Sir Robert Wingfield three days there, for that he put me in comfort that the Lord Howard,¹ and his brother Sir John, should have come to Norwich, at whose coming he doubted not but that I should have a good direction taken for me in that matter; they lay to me unkindness for overkindness.

Item, as for my matter here, it was this day before all the lords of the council, and among them all it was not thought that in my sending of Wheatley thither, immediately after the decease of the duke, that I dealt unkindly or unfittingly, but that I was more unreasonably dealt with; wherefore let men deem what they will, greatest clerks are not always wisest men; but I hope hastily to have one way in it or other.

Item, I wend to have found a gown of mine here, but it come home the same day that I come out, brought by Harry Berker, loader (*carrier*). I would in all haste possible have that same gown of puke² furred with white lamb.

¹ Afterwards Duke of Norfolk.

² *Puck* or *pouk* is an old Gothic word signifying the devil, see *Piers Plowman*, *Spencer*, &c. Hence *puke* became synonymous to black, or dark gray, and consequently might be used for mourning. In Barrett's *Alveare*,

Item, I would have my long russet gown of the French russet in all haste, for I have no gown to go in here.

Item, I pray you recommend me to my mother, and let us all pray God send my Lady of Norfolk a son, for upon that resteth much matter; for if the king's son¹ marry my lord's daughter, the king would that his son should have a fair place in Norfolk though he should give me two times the value in other land as I am done to weet. I pray you send me word of my lady's speed as soon as ye can.

Item, as for Bowen I shall feel him, and should have done though ye had not sent.

Item, there is offered me a good marriage for my sister Anne, Skipwith's son and heir of Lincolnshire, a man 500 or 600 marks (*between 300l. and 400l.*) by the year.

No more. Written at London the 27th day of January, in the 15th year of Edward IV.

Item, my Lady of Exeter² is dead, and it was said that both the old Duchess of Norfolk,³ and the Countess of Oxford,⁴ were dead, but it is not so yet.

Item, I shall remember Calais both for horse and all, &c.

London, Saturday,
27th of January, 1475.
15 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXVI

[JOHN PASTON writes to Lord Hastings in this letter, recommending to him a person "meet to be clerk of your kitchen." The description of him is minute, and the qualifications curious enough for one filling such an office. "This man is mean of [*of middle*] stature, young enough, well witted, well mannered; a

1580, it is explained as a colour between russet and black, and is rendered in Latin by *pullus*. On Good Friday the lord mayor and aldermen always wore their *pewke gowens*.

¹ Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, second son of King Edward IV., in January, 1477, married Anne, sole daughter and heir of John Mowbray, late Duke of Norfolk.

² Anne, daughter of Richard Duke of York, sister of Edward IV., and widow of Henry Holland, the last Duke of Exeter, her first husband; she died 14th of January, 1475, and lies buried with Sir Thomas St. Leger, knight, her second husband, in a private chapel at Windsor.

³ Ellenor, only daughter of William Bouchier, Earl of Ewe, in Normandy, and widow of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

⁴ Margaret, daughter of Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, and wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, now a prisoner in the castle of Hammes, in Picardy; or it may refer to Elizabeth, widow of the late Earl of Oxford, and daughter and heir of Sir John Howard, knight.

goodly young man on horse and foot; he is well spoken in English, meetly well in French, and very perfect in Flemish; he can write and read; his name is Richard Stratton, his mother is Mistress Grame of Calais; and when I had showed him mine intent, he was agreeable and very glad if that it might please your lordship to accept him into your service." He also mentions having procured two other persons for his lordship's service, but these seem to be intended to serve in a military capacity. The letter is dated Norwich, Saturday, March 2, 1475-6.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXVII

[SIR JOHN PASTON in this letter announces to his brother or mother his having crossed the sea to Calais, and being safe and well at Guisnes. He had gone with the governor of Calais, Lord Hastings, and informs his brother that a Master Fitzwalter intended to return to England in order to settle at Attleborough, and how extremely well-disposed the said Fitzwalter was toward him. This Fitzwalter was son of John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter in right of his wife, and who was killed at Ferrybridge in 1460. Master Fitzwalter was himself summoned to parliament as Lord Fitzwalter in 1485, but joining in the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, he was taken prisoner, and confined in Calais; he attempted to escape from thence, but was retaken and beheaded. The letter is dated Tuesday, March 12, 1475-6.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXVIII

[THE first part of this letter, which is from John Paston in Norwich to his mother, dated Tuesday, March, 1475-6, informs her that "my lady," probably the Duchess of Norfolk, had been inquiring whether she would be present at her accouchement, and recommends that she should accede to her wishes as it might be advantageous. In the latter part two curious subjects are noticed. He says: "Here was here with me yesterday, a man from the prior of Bromholm, to let me have knowledge of the ill speech which is in the country now of new that the tomb [of his father] is not made, and also he saith that the cloth that lieth over the grave is all torn and rotten, and is not worth twopence, and he saith he hath patched it once or twice, wherefore the prior hath sent to you at the least to send thither a new cloth before Easter." The other subject—the inability to procure tiles in a town like Norwich—is a remarkable instance of the

want of progress in manufactures. He writes: "Master Stoley prayeth you, for God's sake, and ye will do no alms of tile, that he might borrow some of you till he may buy some and pay you again; for one, the fairest chamber of the fryers, standeth half uncovered for default of tile, for here is none to get for no money."]

LETTER CCCLXIX.—LORD RIVERS ROBBED

This letter furnishes us with a curious anecdote relative to Earl Rivers, who, we may suppose, had been on a pilgrimage to Rome; for Caxton tells us that he was "sometime full vertuously occupied in goyng of pilgrimadis": he likewise procured "greet and large indulgence and grace from our holy fader the pope." But it is plain he had not procured a papal protection from robbers.

To Mrs. Margaret Paston, at Norwich, or her son John Paston, Esq., and to each of them.

I RECOMMEND me to you; like it you to weet, that I am not certain yet whether my lord and I shall come into England the week before Easter, or else the week after Easter; wherefore, mother, I beseech you to take no displeasure with me for my long tarrying, for I must do none otherwise for (*fear of*) displeasing of my lord.

I was nothing glad of this journey if I might goodly have chosen; nevertheless, saving that ye have cause to be displeased with me for the matter of Kocketts, I am else right glad, for I hope that I am far more in favour with my lord than I was tofore.

Item, I send you, brother John, a letter herewith, which was brought hither to Calais from the George at Paul's Wharf; I deem it cometh from my brother Walter.

Item, if ye intend hitherwards, it were well done that ye hygthed (*hied*) you, for I suppose that my lord will take the view of all his retinue here, now before his departing; and I think that he would be better content with your coming now than another time; do as ye think best, and as ye may.

Item, where Master Fitzwalter made me to write to you to advise you to tarry, I remit that to your discretion.

As for tidings here we hear from all the world; first, the Lord Rivers was at Rome right well and honourably, and other lords of England, as the Lord Hurmonde,¹ the Lord Scrope,² and at their departing, twelve miles on this half Rome, the Lord Rivers was robbed of all his jewels and plate, which was worth

¹ Quære, Lord Ormond?

² John Lord Scroop, of Bolton.

1000 marks¹ (666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) or better, and is returned to Rome for a remedy.

Item, the Duke of Burgundy² hath conquered Lorrain, and Queen Margaret³ shall not now by likelihood have it; wherefore the French king cherisheth her but easily⁴ (*slightly, little*); but after this conquest of Lorrain, the duke took great courage to go upon the land of the Swiss to conquer them, but they berded (*confronted*) him at an unset (*unlooked-for*) place, and hath distressed him, and hath slain the most part of his vanward, and won all his ordnance and artillery, and moreover all stuff that he had in his host, except men and horse, that fled not; but they rode that night twenty miles; and so the rich salets,⁵ helmets, garters, nowches⁶ gelt (*gold*), and all is gone, with tents, pavilions, and all, and so men deem his pride is abated; men told him that they were froward carles, but he would not believe it, and yet men say that he will to them again; God speed them both.

Item, Sir John Myddleton took leave of the duke to sport him, but he is set in prison at Brussels.

I pray you send me some word, if ye think likely that I may enter Caister when I will, by the next messenger.

Written at Calais, in reasonable health of body and soul, I thank God, the 21st day of March, in the sixteenth year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Calais, Thursday,
21st of March, 1475.
16 E. IV.

¹ Allowing for the difference of weight and value of money between this and the present time, he lost to the amount of nearly 4000*l.*

² During the preceding autumn the Duke of Burgundy, having subdued the whole duchy of Lorraine, now attacked the Swiss, and took a town called Granson just as a body of troops were arriving to its relief; these he went to meet as they came down the narrow passes of the mountains; when his army, being seized with a panic, fled, and left his baggage to be plundered by the enemy. Within a short time after this he besieged Morat, a small town near Bern, when a battle ensued in which he was totally routed.

³ This queen had been lately delivered from her imprisonment in the Tower, to the French king, on his engaging to pay 50,000 crowns for her ransom.

⁴ So in Letter xv., vol. i. p. 13, "I have but easy stuff of money," that is, *little store* of money.

⁵ Light head-pieces.

⁶ Embossed ornaments—chains—buckles, &c.

LETTER CCCLXX.—CLOTH OF GOLD

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston.

AFTER all duties of recommendation, please it you to weet, that as yesterday noon my brother Sir John departed from Norwich towards London; for as now all the speed is with the king for the surety of the manor of Caister, considering the dying seised of my Lord of Norfolk: he trusteth to be in this country again within ten or twelve days; and at his departing he said to me, that ye sent him word to sell the cloth of gold, if he might sell it well, which cloth I think may be sold, if ye will agree; notwithstanding I will make no bargain for it, till ye send me word of the certain sum, what ye will have for it, or else ye to have it again.

Sir Robert Wingfield offered me yesterday twenty marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) for it, but I wot well ye shall have more for it, if ye will sell it; wherefore as ye will deal in this matter, I pray you send me word to-morrow betimes; for if this bargain be forsaken, I tro it will be long ere ye can get another bargain to sell it any thing after that it is worth.

Mother, in as humble wise as I can, I beseech you of your blessing; I trust from henceforth that we shall have our chyldyr (*children*) in rest without rebuking for their playing wanton, for it is told me your hostess at Fritton hath gotten her such a thing to play with, that our other chyldyr shall have leave to sport them. God send her joy of it.

Written at Norwich, this Sunday.

Your son and humble servant,

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Sunday,

May or June, 1476. 16 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXI.—A WIFE WANTED

To the right worshipful Sir John Paston, Knight, lodged at the George, by Paul's Wharf, in London.

AFTER all duties of recommendation, liketh you to weet, that to my power ye be welcome again into England; and as for the Castle of Shene, there is no more in it but Calle and his mak (*wife*), and a goose may get it, but in no wise I would not that way, and my mother thinketh the same, take not that way, if there be any other.

I understand that Mistress Fitzwalter hath a sister, a maid,

to marry, I trow, and ye entreated him, she might come into Christian men's hands. I pray you speak with Master Fitzwalter of that matter for me; and ye may tell him since that he will have my service, it were as good, and (*if*) such a bargain might be made, that both she and I awaited on him and my mistress his wife at our own costs, as I alone to await on him at his cost; for then he should be sure that I should not be flitting, and I had such a quarrel (*quarry*) to keep me at home; and I have his good will, it is none impossible to bring about.

I think to be at London within a fourteen days at the farthest, and peradventure my mistress also, in counsel be it clattered.

God keep you and your's. At Norwich, the 6th day of May, in the 16th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Monday,
6th May, 1476. 16 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXXII

[SIR JOHN PASTON writes from London to his mother or brother of his good success in having at length procured a decree for the restitution of the manor of Caister, which "now lacketh nothing but the privy seals, and writing to Master Colvill to avoid." He says, however, "that it shall cost me great money and hath cost me much labour; it is so that the king must have an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), and other costs will draw forty marks (26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*)." He adds that he shall "have much pain to get so much money," but hopes to accomplish it with the assistance of his uncle William, the resource in all straits. He lets us into an approximation of the real value of Caister with great naïveté, for he states that "the king would have bought it, but he was informed of the truth, and that it was not for a prince, and of the great price that I would sell it at, for that I might not forbear [*do without*] it, for [*though*] he should have paid two thousand marks (1333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) or more if he had had it." Sir John seems to have been greatly excited by his success, for he addresses his brother as John Paston, knight, and he dates his letter on Monday the 26th of May, 1476, Monday being in fact the 29th.]

LETTER CCCLXXIII.—MARRIAGE AS A BARGAIN

To John Paston, Esquire, being at the sign of the George, at Paul's Wharf.

I RECOMMEND me to you, letting you weet that I have received your letter, written the next day after Midsummer; for answer whereof, I think that to be bound in 500 marks (333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), I think it is too much; whereas I felt by you, ye should have with the gentlewoman but 400 marks (266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), nevertheless I agree; but ye shall understand that I will not be bound for you that ye shall make her jointure past 20*l.* by year, within a certain day limited, be it one year or two, that is the largest that ye may perform; for as for the manor of Sparham, my mother and ye accord not in your sayings; she will nought grant you therein while she liveth, save as she saith to me, she hath granted you 10 marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) by year till 40*l.* be paid, that is but six years; and after her decease she will agree with good will, so that it may be your profferment, that ye should have that manor in jointure with your wife to the longer liver of you both, paying 10 marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) by year, so . . . or as she will that it shall be; therefore as for 50 marks (33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) jointure, I pray you bind me in no such clause; but if it be for 20*l.* by a reasonable day, and 20 marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) after the decease of my mother. Take example at Derby.

Item, ye make you surer than I deem you be, for I deem that her friends will not be content with Bedingfeld's surety nor your's; I deem this matter will occupy longer leisure than ye deem for. Item, I remember that this money that she should have is not ready, but in the hands of Merchants of the Staple, which at a proof ye shall find per case so slack payers, that ye might be deceived thereby; I know divers have lost money ere they could get their dywtes (*dues*) out of the Staple. God speed you, and send you that ye would have.

I send you the obligation herewith, according to your desire, and a letter to Bedingfeld, thanking him for you, and moreover letting him know of mine intent; open it, and close it again, if ye list.

Item, where(*as*) I told you that the gown cloth of old camblet, I would have it home for my sister Ann, ye forgot it; I pray you send it home by the next messenger, and a letter with it of such tidings as ye know.

Item, blessed be God, I have Caister at my will; God hold it

better than it (*has*) done heretofore. No more, but written the next day after Saint Peter, in the 16th of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Sunday, 30th June, 1476.
16 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXXIV

[MARGARET PASTON being absent from home, though it is not said where, writes to her steward or some trusty domestic, about various matters, in all of which he has given her much satisfaction. The principal matter is of her son Walter. We must premise that she says some letters had miscarried that should have been brought by Thomas Holler's son. She then proceeds: "Wherefore I pray you heartily, if it be no disease to you, that ye will take the labour to bring Walter where he should be, and to purvey for him that he may be set in good and sad [*sober*] rule, for I were loath to lose him, for I trust to have more joy of him than I have of them that be older; though it be more cost to me to send you forth with him, I hold me pleased, for I wot well ye shall best purvey for him, and for such things as is necessary for him, than another should do, after mine intent. As for any horse to lead his gear, methink it were best that ye purvey at Cambridge, less than (*unless*) ye can get any carrier from thence to Oxford more hastily, and I marvel that the letters come not to me, and whether I may lay the default to the father or to the son thereof. And I will Walter should be coupled with a better than Holler's son is there, as he shall be; howbeit I would not that he should make never the less of him, by cause he is his countryman and neighbour; and also I pray you write a letter in my name to Walter, after that ye have known mine intent before this to him ward; so that he do well, learn well, and be of good rule and disposition, there shall nothing fail him that I may help with so that it be necessary to him; and bid him that he be not too hasty of taking of orders that should bind him, till that he be of twenty-four years of age or more, though he be counselled the contrary, for often rape (*haste*) rueth. I will love him better to be a good secular man than a lewd (*ignorant*) priest." The whole of this is said in good sound sense and in most excellent feeling, and is alike honourable to her head and her heart, and creditable to her epistolary powers. The object of this good counsel and maternal care was her fourth son; he took his degree at Oxford in 1479, and died soon afterwards. The rest of her letter relates to the

illness of her cousin Berney, and here her good and right feelings are again displayed. She says: "And I pray you gif my white wine, or any of my waters, or any other thing that I have that is in your award, may do him comfort, let him have it, for I would be right sorry if anything should come to him but good; and for God's sake advise him to do make his will if it be not done, and to do well to my cousin his wife, and else it were pity." She afterwards remembers "that water of mint or water of millefoil (*yarrow*—*Achillæa millefolium*) were good for my cousin Berney to drink for to make him to brouke; and if they send to Dame Elizabeth Calthorpe, there ye shall not fail of one or both, she hath other waters to make folks to brouke." "Brouke"¹ (with "ou" pronounced as in "out") is probably an onomatopoeic word meaning to belch or bring up wind. The word is still in use among country folk in Lincolnshire, and it is well known that hot mint water is an effective stomachic. She speaks very favourably of the place where she is staying: "Me liketh mine abiding and the country here right well, and I trust when summer cometh and fair weather I shall like it better, for I am cherished here but too well." This interesting letter is dated Monday, Jan., about 1476 or 1477.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXXV

[THIS letter is from Dame Elizabeth Brews, the wife of Sir Thomas Brews, of Stinton Hall in Salle, and of Topcroft, to John Paston, and is chiefly interesting as being the commencement of a new treaty for a wife, that at length proved successful. Dame Brews seems from the first to have been decidedly favourable to him, and this letter contains an urgent invitation to come to Topcroft and meet some of her influential relations, she promising in the mean time that she will "go as well and as rightfully and as consciensly (*conscientiously*) as I can for both the parties." It is dated Jan. or Feb. of either 1476 or 1477.]

LETTER CCCLXXVI.—LADY BREWS OFFERS HER DAUGHTER

Unto my right worshipful cousin John Paston, be this letter delivered, &c.

RIGHT worshipful cousin, I recommend me unto you, &c. And I sent mine husband a bill of the matter that ye know of, and he wrote another bill to me again touching the same matter, and he would that ye should go unto my mistress your mother,

¹ Herbert Cole points this out.

and assay if ye might get the whole 20*l.* into your hands, and then he would be more glad to marry with you, and will give you an 100*l.*; and, cousin, that day that she is married, my father will give her 50 marks (33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*). But and (*if*) we accord, I shall give you a great treasure, that is, a witty gentlewoman, and if I say it, both good and virtuous; for if I should take money for her, I would not give her for a 1000*l.*; but, cousin, I trust you so much, that I would think her well beset on you, and (*if*) ye were worth much more. And, cousin, a little after that ye were gone, came a man from my cousin Derby, and brought me word that such a change fell, that he might not come at the day that was set, as I shall let you understand more plainly when I speak with you, &c. But, cousin, and it would please you to come again, what day that ye will set, I dare undertake that they shall keep the same day, for I would be glad that, and (*if*) mine husband and ye might accord in this marriage, that it might be my fortune to make an end of this matter between my cousins and you, that each of you might love other in friendly wise, &c. And, cousin, if this bill please not your intent, I pray you that it may be burnt, &c. No more unto you at this time, but Almighty Jesu preserve you, &c.

By your cousin,

DAME ELIZABETH BREWS.

Jan. or Feb. 1476-7.
16 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXVII.—CHARLES THE BOLD DEAD

The politicians of these times, we here see, looked upon the death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, as an event of great importance to all Europe. He was dismounted from his horse and slain in a battle fought on the 5th of January, 1476, before Nancy, the capital city of Lorraine, between his forces and those of Renate, Duke of Lorraine.

To John Paston, Esq., at Norwich, in haste.

I RECOMMEND me to you; letting you weet that yesterday began the great council, to which all the estates of the land shall come to, but if it be for great and reasonable excuses; and I suppose the chief cause of this assembly is to commune what is best to do now upon the great change by the death of the Duke of Burgundy, and for the keeping of Calais and the Marches, and for the preservation of the amities taken lately, as well with France as now with the members of Flanders; whereto I doubt not there shall be in all haste both the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, whereof I would that my brother Edmund wist.

Item, I feel but little effect in the labour of W. Alyngton, nevertheless I deem it is not for you, she shall not pass 200 marks as far as I can understand apart.

Item, I will not forget you otherwise.

Item, it is so that this day I hear great likelihood that my Lord Hastings shall hastily go to Calais with great company; if I think it be for you to be one, I shall not forget you.

Item, this day the matter between Mrs. Anne Hawte and me hath been soor (*in a sure manner*) broken both to the cardinal,¹ to my lord chamberlain,² and to myself, and I am in good hope; when I hear and know more, I shall send you word.

It seemeth that the world is all quavering, it will reboil somewhere, so that I deem young men shall be cherished, take your heart to you; I fear that I cannot be excused, but that I shall forth with my Lord Hastings over the sea, but I shall send you word in haste, and if I go I hope not to tarry long.

Item, to my brother Edmund. I am like to speak with Mistress Dixon in haste, and some deem that there shall be condescended that if E. P. (*Edmund Paston*) come to London that his costs shall be paid for.

I shall hastily send you word of more things.

Written at London, the 14th day of February, in the 16th year of Edward IV., the Friday afore Fastingong (*Fasting-going*, i.e. *Lent*).

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Friday,
14th of February, 1476.
16 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXVIII.—VALENTINE'S DAY

To my worshipful cousin, John Paston,³ be this bill delivered, &c.

COUSIN, I recommend me unto you, thanking you heartily for the great cheer ye made me and all my folks the last time that I was at Norwich; and ye promised me that ye would never break the matter to Margery⁴ unto such time as ye and I were at a

¹ Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

² William Lord Hastings. Though this important business between Sir John Paston and Mrs. Anne Hawte has been so often mentioned, it has never been so clearly stated as to be exactly ascertained.

³ John Paston was the next brother to Sir John Paston, knight, and his heir in 1479. He was high-sheriff of Norfolk, &c., in 1485, created a knight banneret in 1487, and died in 1503.

⁴ Margery, daughter of Sir Thomas and Elizabeth Brews, of Stinton Hall, in Salle.

point. But ye have made her such (*an*) advocate for you, that I may never have rest night nor day for calling and crying upon to bring the said matter to effect, &c.

And, cousin, upon Friday is Saint Valentine's Day, and every bird chuseth him a make; and if it like you to come on Thursday at night, and so purvey you that ye may abide there till Monday, I trust to God that ye shall so speak to mine husband; and I shall pray that we shall bring the matter to a conclusion, &c.

For, cousin, "it is but a simple oak,
That's cut down at the first stroke,"

for ye will be reasonable I trust to God, which have you ever in his merciful keeping, &c.

By your cousin,

DAME ELIZABETH BREWS.

Otherwise shall be called by God's grace.

Between the 8th and 14th of
February, 1476-7. 16 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXIX.—A GIRL'S LOVE LETTER

Unto my right well-beloved valentine, John Paston, Esq., be this bill delivered, &c.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful, and my right well-beloved Valentine, I recommend me unto you, full heartily desiring to hear of your welfare, which I beseech Almighty God long for to preserve unto his pleasure and your heart's desire.

And if it please you to hear of my welfare, I am not in good heele of body nor of heart, nor shall be till I hear from you;

For there wottys (*knows*) no creature what pain that I endure,
And for to be dead (*for my life*), I dare it not dyscur' (*discover*).

And my lady my mother hath laboured the matter to my father full diligently, but she can no more get than ye know of, for the which God knoweth I am full sorry. But if that ye love me, as I trust verily that ye do, ye will not leave me therefore; for if that ye had not half the livelihood that ye have, for to do the greatest labour that any woman alive might, I would not forsake you.

And if ye command me to keep me true wherever I go,
I wis I will de all my might you to love, and never no mo.

And if my friends say that I do amiss,

They shall not me let so for to do,

Mine heart me bids evermore to love you

Truly over all earthly thing,

And if they be never so wrath,

I trust it shall be better in time coming.

No more to you at this time, but the Holy Trinity have you in keeping; and I beseech you that this bill be not seen of none earthly creature save only yourself, &c.

And this letter was endited at Topcroft, with full heavy heart, &c.

By your own

MARGERY BREWS.

Topcroft,

February, 1476-7. 16 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXX.—MARRIAGE IS DOUBTFUL

J. Paston seems by this letter to have answered the last, but not to her satisfaction, respecting his being content to take her with the fortune her father proposed to give on her marriage. She acknowledges the pleasure it would give her to find that he would marry her with the fortune her father had fixed, and with great sensibility requests him, if he cannot acquiesce, not to come to Topcroft, but to let matters remain as they were. The letter, at the same time that it acknowledges her regard for J. Paston, shows that she had a proper attention to her own consequence and her father's determination.

To my right well-beloved cousin, John Paston, Esq., be this letter delivered, &c.

RIGHT worshipful and well-beloved Valentine, in my most humble wise I recommend me unto you, &c. And heartily I thank you for the letter which that ye send me by John Becketon, whereby I understand and know that ye be purposed to come to Topcroft in short time, and without any errand or matter but only to have a conclusion of the matter betwixt my father and you; I would be most glad of any creature alive so that the matter might grow to effect. And thereas (*whereas*) ye say, and ye come and find the matter no more towards you than ye did aforetime, ye would no more put my father and my lady my mother to no cost nor business for that cause a good while after, which causeth mine heart to be full heavy; and if that ye come, and the matter take to none effect, then should I be much more sorry and full of heaviness.

And as for myself I have done and understand ¹ in the matter that I can or may, as God knoweth; and I let you plainly understand that my father will no more money part withal in that behalf, but an 100*l.* and 50 marks (33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), which is right far from the accomplishment of your desire.

Wherefore, if that ye could be content with that good and my poor person I would be the merriest maiden on ground; and if ye think not yourself so satisfied, or that ye might have much more

¹ [Probably *understood*—supported—acted in.]

good, as I have understood by you afore; good, true, and loving Valentine, that ye take no such labour upon you as to come more for that matter, but let (*what*) is, pass, and never more to be spoken of, as I may be your true lover and beadwoman during my life.

No more unto you at this time, but Almighty Jesu preserve you both body and soul, &c.

By your Valentine,

MARGERY BREWS.

Topcroft, 1476-7.

LETTER CCCLXXXI.—A QUESTION OF DOWRY

This letter seems written by a common friend of both the parties, who appears solicitous for the marriage taking effect. He informs J. Paston that in addition to the fortune intended to be given by Sir Thomas Brews, the furniture of her chamber and her apparel should amount to the sum of 100 marks, or 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And he hints, as from Lady Brews, that they should be entertained at her table for three years after their marriage. [This is a striking instance of the want of currency. Here, as in many other instances, we see that persons possessing a superfluity of the products of their landed property had great difficulty in converting it into money. The entertainment for three years of the married couple was thought less of than any the slightest increase of the dowry money.]

Unto my right worshipful master, John Paston, Esq., be this bill delivered, &c.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto you; letting you know, as for the young gentlewoman, she oweth you her good heart and love; as I know by the communication that I have had with her for the same.

And, Sir, ye know what my master and my lady hath proffered with her, 200 marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), and I dare say, that her chamber and arayment (*apparel*) shall be worth 100 marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), and I heard my lady say that and (*if*) the case required, both ye and she should have your board with my lady three years after.

And I understand by my lady that she would that ye should labour the matter to my master, for it should be the better.

And I heard my lady say,

That it was a feeble oak,
That was cut down at the first stroke.

And ye be beholden unto my lady for her good word, for she hath never praised you too much.¹

¹ That is, deservedly praised you; for though she hath praised you much, her praise is not above your merit.

Sir, like as I promised you, I am your man, and my good will ye shall have in word and deed, &c.

And Jesu have you in his merciful keeping, &c.

By your man,

February, 1476-7. 16 E. IV.

THOMAS KELA.

LETTER CCCLXXXII.—TO MEET THE BRIDE'S MOTHER

We find by this letter that J. Paston was as desirous of having all obstacles to the match removed as the lady could be, and now writes from the house where she was, and to which I suppose he went on the receipt of her last letter. He takes great pains to explain the reason for the meeting at Norwich to have been fixed by his desire, fearing his mother might have been displeased with any alteration in the original plan [To us it rather appears that, not being able to get a larger fortune, and having been so repeatedly disappointed, he had made up his mind to accept of this, and to trust to future expectations; hoping that his future father-in-law would be kind to him, "though he be hard to me as yet."]

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston.

RIGHT worshipful mother, after all duties of recommendation, in as humble wise as I can I beseech you of your daily blessing. Mother, please it you to weet, that the cause that Dame Elizabeth Brews desireth to meet with you at Norwich, and not at Langley as I appointed with you at my last being at Mauteby, is by my means; for my brother Thomas Jermyn, which knoweth nought of the mate (*match*), telleth me that the Causey ere ye can come to Bokenham Ferry is so overflown that there is no man that may on ethe [*in ease*] pass it, though he be right well horsed; which is no meet way for you to pass over, God defend it. But, all things reckoned, it shall be less cost to you to be at Norwich, as for a day or tweyn and pass not [*not beyond*], than to meet at Langley, where everything is dear; and your horse may be sent home again the same Wednesday.

Mother, I beseech you for diverse causes that my sister Anne may come with you to Norwich; mother, the matter is in a reasonable good way, and I trust with God's mercy, and with your good help, that it shall take effect better to mine advantage than I told you of at Mauteby; for I trow there is not a kinder woman living than I shall have to my mother-in-law if the matter take; nor yet a kinder father-in-law than I shall have, though he be hard to me as yet.

All the circumstances of the matter, which I trust to tell you at your coming to Norwich, could not be written in three leaves of paper, and ye know my lewd (*poor*) head well enough, I may

not write long, wherefore I fery over all things till I may await on you myself. I shall do tonnen into your place a dozen ale, and bread according, against Wednesday. If Sym might be forborn (*spared*) it were well done that he were at Norwich on Wednesday in the morning at market. Dame Elizabeth Brews shall lie at John Cook's;¹ if it might please you, I would be glad that she might dine in your house on Thursday, for there should you have most secret talking.

And, mother, at the reverence of God beware that ye be so purveyed for that ye take no cold by the way towards Norwich, for it is the most perilous March that ever was seen by any man's days that now liveth; and I pray to Jesu preserve you and yours.

Written at Topcroft the 8th day of March.

Your son and humble servant,

JOHN PASTON.

Topcroft Saturday,

8th of March, 1476-7. 17 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXXIII.—MORE OF THE MATCH

This letter, I suppose, accompanied one from J. Paston, in which the exact terms were specified, to his brother Sir John. Sir Thomas Brews seemed to expect that Sir John Paston would likewise do something for his brother on this occasion. [Sir Thomas seems certainly to be a "hard" determined man, but John Paston appears to have wrung at least the loan of a considerable sum from him. Sir Thomas died in 1482.]

To my right worshipful cousin, Sir John Paston, Knight, be this letter delivered, &c.

RIGHT worshipful, and my heartily well-beloved cousin, I commend me unto you, desiring to hear of your welfare, which I pray God may be as continually good as I would have mine own; and, cousin, the cause of my writing unto you, at this time, is I feel well by my cousin John Paston your brother, that ye have understanding of a matter which is in communication touching a marriage, with God's grace, to be concluded betwixt my said cousin your brother and my daughter Margery, which is far communed and not yet concluded, nor neither shall nor may be till I have answer from you again of your good will and assent to the said matter; and also of the obligation which that I send you herewith; for, cousin, I would be sorry to see either my cousin your brother, or my daughter, driven to live so mean a life as they should do, if the six score pounds should be paid (*out*) of their marriage money; and, cousin, I have taken myself so near in levying of this said six score pounds, that

¹ John Cook was mayor of Norwich in 1484.

whereas I had laid up an iool. for the marriage of a younger daughter of mine, I have now lent the said iool., and 20l. over that, to my cousin your brother, to be paid again by such easy days as the obligation which I send you herewith specifies.

And, cousin, I were right loath to bestow so much upon one daughter that the other her sisters should fare the worse; wherefore, cousin, if ye will that this matter shall take effect under such form as my cousin your brother hath written unto you, I pray you put thereto your good will, and some of your cost, as I have done of mine more largely than ever I purpose to do to any two of her sisters, as God knoweth mine intent, whom I beseech to send you your levest heart's desire.

Written at Topcroft, the 8th day of March, &c.

By your cousin,

THOMAS BREWS, *knight*.

Topcroft, Saturday,

8th of March, 1476. 17 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXXIV.—JOHN TO MARRY MARGERY BREWS
OR ANOTHER

To John Paston, Esq., in haste.

I HAVE received your letter, and your man Bykerton, by whom I know all the matter of Mistress Brews, which if it be as he saith, I pray God bring it to a good end.

Item, as for this matter of Mistress Burley, I hold it but a bare thing; I feel well that it passeth not . . . marks; I saw her for your sake; she is a little one, she may be a woman hereafter, if she be not old now, her person seemeth 13 years of age, her years, men say, be full 18; she knoweth not of the matter I suppose, nevertheless she desired to see me, as glad I was to see her.

I pray you send me some writing to Calais of your speed with Mistress Brews; Bykerton telleth me that she loveth you well; if I died, I had lever (*rather*) ye had her than the Lady Wargrave (*Walgrave*), nevertheless she singeth well with an harp.

Clopton is afraid of Sir T. Grey, for he is a widower now late, and, men say, that he is acquainted with her of old.

No more. Written on Sunday the 9th day of March, in the 17th year of Edward IV. to Calais ward.

If ye have Mistress Brews, and E. Paston Mistress Bylingford, ye be like to be brethren.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Sunday, 9th of March, 1476-7.

17 E. IV.

LETTER CCCLXXXV.—STILL UNCERTAIN

This bill be delivered to Thomas Gyney, goodman (keeper) of the George by Paul's Wharf, or to his wife, to send to Sir John Paston, wheresoever he be, at Calais, London, or other places.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, and my most good and kind brother, in as humble wise as I can, I recommend me to you; Sir, it is so that I have, since John Bykerton departed from home, been at Topcroft at Sir Thomas Brews's, and as for the matter that I send you word of by John Bykerton, touching myselfe and Mistress Margery Brews, I am yet at no certainty; her father is so hard; but I trow, I have the good will of my Lady her mother and her; but as the matter proveth, I shall send you word with God's grace in short time.

But as for John Bykerton, I pray you deal with him for surety as a soldier should be dealt with, trust him never the more for the bill that I sent you by him, but as a man at wild, for every thing that he told me is not true; for he departed without licence of his master Sir Thomas Brews, and is sore endangered (*in debt*) to divers in this country; I pray God that I write not to you of him too late; but for all this I know none untruth (*treachery*) in him, but yet I pray you trust him not over much upon my word.

Sir, Perse Moody recommendeth him to your mastership, and beseecheth you to send him word in haste, how he shall be demeaned at your place at Caister; for he is assigned to nobody as yet, to take of meat and drink, nor yet where that he shall have money to pay for his meat and drink; and now is the chief replenishing of your warren there; the advantage of the Dove house were well for him, till ye come home yourself.

Sir, I pray you pardon me of my writing, howsoever it be, for Carpenters of my craft, that I use now, have not alderbest their wits to their own; and Jesu preserve you.

Written at Norwich, the 9th day of March, in the 17th year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON.

Norwich, Sunday,
9th of March, 1476-7.
17 E. IV.

NUMBER CCCLXXXVI.—OF MARGERY'S DOWRY

A determination of Sir Thomas Brews how much he would give with his daughter Margery in marriage.

MEMORANDUM, To let my cousin Margaret Paston understand, that for a jointure of no more but 10 marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) out of Sparham, I will depart with 200 marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) in hand, and to give them their board free as for two or three years in certain, or else 300 marks (200*l.*) without their board, payable by 50 marks (33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) yearly, till the sum of 300 marks be full paid.

Item, I will give 400 marks (266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), payable 50*l.* in hand at the day of marriage, and 50*l.* yearly, till the sum of 400 marks be full paid, upon these conditions following.

Whereof one condition is this,

That I will lend my cousin John Paston sixscore pounds, besides his marriage money, to pledge out the manor of Swainsthorp, so that (*on condition*) he may find such a friend as will pay me again the said sixscore pounds by 20 marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) a year, so that it be not paid of the marriage money, nor of the proper goods of my said cousin John.

Or else, another condition is this,

If it be so that my said cousin John may be suffered, from the day of his marriage to my daughter, to take the whole profits of the manor of Sparham, besides the manor of Swainsthorp, for term of their two lives, and the longest of them living, yet will I be agreeable to depart with the said 400 marks (266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), payable again in form abovesaid (*and to give them their board for a year or two*).

And if these or any of the conclusions may be taken, I am agreeable to make the bargain sure, or else no more to be spoken of.

March, 1476-7. 17 E. IV.

N.B.—The words "and to geve theym ther boord for a yer or two" are struck across with a pen in the original, as if Sir Thomas thought that too much to be complied with under these conditions.

LETTER CCCLXXXVII.—APPARENTLY JOCOSE

To Master Sir John Paston, be this letter delivered in Calais.

HONOUR and joy be to you, my right good master, and most assured brother; letting you know that all your well-willers and servants in these parts, that I know, fare well, and better would

if they might hear of your well being, and forthwith some of your French and Burgundy tidings; for we in these parts be in great dread lest the French king with some assaults should in any wise disturb you of your soft, sote (*sweet*), and sure sleeps, but as yet we nothing can hear that he so disposeth him.

But in one thing we praise your sadnesses (*wisdoms*) and discretions right much, that is, in keeping of your truce and peace with the king of France as the king hath commanded; and a great reason why, for it were too much for you to have war with all the world at once, for the war aforesaid keepeth you blameless, for every reasonable man weeteth well, that it is too much for any people living to do both at once. Sir, as for the more part of my thought, I pray you recommend me unto yourself, praying you that I may continue in such case as your goodness hath taken me of old, and if ye list to send any tidings or other thing to the parties that were wont to warm them by your fire, in faith I shall do your errand.

As for barley, it is of the same price that it was wont to be of, and is the most sure corn and best enduring that may be; and, Sir, where that some time was a little hole in a wall, is now a door large enough and easy passage, whereof ye were the deviser, and have thank for your labour of some parties, but nothing lasteth ever; I mean that I trow my passage shall hastily fail me, and the door shall be shut up again; less then fortune be agreeable to have my counsel kept; for not long ago making my entry at that passage, I saw a sparrow that useth those eireys, and I saw her set so still that I could not endure but I must needs shoot her, and so God me help I smote her I trow even to the heart; and so I dread me lest either the barley will eat the sparrow, or else the sparrow will eat the barley; but as yet all is well, but reason sheweth me that it must needs fail by continuance, less then I forsake both the sparrow and the barley also.

Sir, I have thank for the shew that I once made of you and daily gramercy, and ye their prayer.

Sir, furthermore I beseech you as ye will do anything for me, that ye see one day for my sake, and for your own pleasure, all the good horse in Calais, and if there be amongst them any prized horse of deeds that is to sell, in especial that he be well trotting of his own courage without force of spurs, and also a steering horse¹ if he be he is the better; I pray you send me word of his colour, deeds, and courage, and also of his price, feigning

¹ Quære, a horse that obeys the rein? [We rather think an entire horse is meant. See also two passages at the end of Letter cccxcii.]

as ye would buy him yourself, and also I would have him somewhat large, not with the largest; but no small horse, as (*q. no*) more than a double horse; praying you above all things to have this in remembrance, and that hastily as may be, for there is late promised me help to such an intent, and I wote not how long it shall endure; and therefore I beseech you send me word by time.

I trow the French men have taken up all the good horse in Picardy, and also they be wont to be heavy horse in labour, and that I love not; but a heavy horse of flesh, and light of courage I love well, for I love no horse that will always be lean and slender like greyhounds. God keep you.

Your

JOHN PYMPE.

(*Recd.*) Sunday, 16th of March,
1476. 17 E. IV.

I pray you to recommend me to my cousin Sir John Scot and all his, in especial Mrs. Bedingfield.¹

NUMBER CCCLXXXVIII.—NOTES TOUCHING THE MARRIAGE

Notes touching the marriage between John Paston, Esq., and Margery Brews.

MEMORANDUM, To keep secret from my mother that the bargain is full concluded.

Item, to let her have first knowledge that in the chapel, where as ye would had been no book nigh by ten miles, that when Master Brews said that he would shortly have either more land in jointure than Swainsthorp and ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) out of Sparham, or else that some friend of mine should pay the sixscore pounds, so that it should not be paid of the marriage money, that then I swore on a book to him, that I would never of my motion endanger mother nor brother farther than I had done; for I thought that my mother had done much for me to give me the manor of Sparham in such form as she had done; but Master Brews will not agree, without that my mistress his daughter and I be made sure of it now in hand, and that we may take the whole profits, whatsoever fortune.

Item, to inform my mother that if so be that we may be put in possession of all the whole manor during our two lives, and the longest of us living, that then Master Brews will give me in marriage with my mistress his daughter 400 marks (266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*),

¹ Margaret, daughter of Sir John Scot, and wife to Edmund Bedingfield.

payable in hand 50*l.* and so yearly 50*l.* till the sum of 400 marks be full paid.

Item, that whereas he had laid up 100*l.* for the marriage of a younger daughter of his, he will lend me the same 100*l.* and 20*l.* more, to pledge out my land, and he to be paid again his 100*l.* and 20*l.* by 10*l.* by year.

Item, to advise my mother that she break not for the yearly value of Sparham above the ten marks during her life.

March, 1476-7. 17 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCLXXXIX

[ANOTHER letter from John Pympe to Sir John Paston about his horse. The writer begins by saying, "I have written to you three long letters, which as yet be answerless"; and shortly after says, "this is the fifth letter I have sent you." There is nothing else but a renewal of the request for Sir John's assistance in procuring a horse, and a repetition of what he considers a good horse ought to be. Dated March, 1477.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXC

[SIR JOHN PASTON in this letter writes rather a stern answer to the exorbitant demands of his brother John for his own advantageous settlement. He says: "Ye have now written again. You need not to pray me to do that might be to your profit and worship that I might do, oftener than once, or to let me weet thereof, for to my power I would do for you, and take as much pain for your weal, and remember it when per case ye should not think on it yourself. I would be as glad that one gave you a manor of 20*l.* by the year as if he gave it to myself, by my troth. Item, where(as) ye think that I may with conscience recompense it again unto our stock of other lands that I have of that value in fee simple, it is so that Snailwell by my grandfather's will once, and by my father's will secondly, is entailed to the issue of my father's body. Item, as for Sporle 20*l.* by year; I had thereof but twenty marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) by year, which twenty marks by year, and the ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) over, I have endangered, as ye well know of that bargain; which, if it be not redeemed I must recompense some other manor of mine to one of my brethren for the said ten marks, and twenty marks that longeth to me, wherefore I keep the manor of Runham; then have I fee simple land, the manor of Winterton with

Bastwick and Billys, which in all is not twenty marks by year, which is not to the value of the manor of Sparham. And as for Caister it were no convenient land to exchange for such a thing; nor it were not policy for me to set that manor in such case for all manner of haps. I need not to make this excuse to you, but that your mind is troubled; I pray you rejoice not yourself too much in hope to obtain a thing that all your friends may not ease you of, for if my mother were disposed to give me and any woman in England the best manor she hath to have it to me and my wife, and to the heirs of our two bodies begotten, I would not take it of her, by God. Stablish yourself upon a good ground, and grace shall follow; your matter is far spoken of, and blown wide, and if it prove no better I would it had never been spoken of. Also that matter noiseth me, that I am so unkind that I let (*hinder*) altogether. I think not a matter happy, nor well handled, nor politicly dealt with, when it can never be finished without an inconvenience, and to any such bargain I hope never to be condescending nor of counsel; if I were at the beginning of such a matter, I would have hoped to have made a better conclusion, if they mock you not. This matter is driven thus far forth without my counsel; I pray you make an end without my counsel; if it be well I would be glad; if it be otherwise it is pity. I pray you trouble me no more in this matter." There is no date to the letter, but it clearly belongs to this period.]

LETTER CCCXCI.—A POEM BY PYMPE

To Master Sir John Paston, Knight, be this letter delivered at Calais.

FRESH amorous sights of countries far and strange
 Have all fordone your old affection;
 In pleasures new, your heart doth scour and range
 So high and far, that like as the falcon
 Which is aloft, telleth (*q. taketh*) scorn to look a down
 On him that wont was her feathers to pick and imp;
 Right so forgotten ye have your poor Pymp;

That writeth, sendeth, and wisheth all day your weal
 More than his own; but ye nor hear, nor see,
 Nor say, nor send, and ever I write and seal
 In prose and rhyme, as well as it will be;
 Some evil tongue I trow mis-saith of me

And else your fast and faithful friendliness
Ye think mis-spent on such as I, I guess.

I will abate my customable concourse,
To you so costuous,¹ whensoever ye come again,
Which that I feel of reason, by the course
Of my proffered service, hath made you so unfain;
For verily the water of the fountain,
With bread only, forthwith your presence,
Me should content much more than your expense.

But aye deem I thus that fortune hath hired you,
For she but late of sorrows more than many
Hath raked unto my heart an heap more than a mow,
And would that ye should lay thereon on high
Your heavy unkindness to make it fast to lie,
And God know'th well it cannot long lie there
But it will bring me to the church bier.

Take it away therefore, I pray you fair,
For hardily my heart beareth heavy enough;
For there is sorrow, at rest as in his chair,
Fixed so fast with his pricks rough,
That in good faith I wot not when I love.
For Master Paston, the thing whereon my bliss
Was wholly set, is all fordone, I wis.

By your
JOHN PYMPE.

This being the sixth letter that I have sent you.

Always praying you to remember the horse that I have in every letter written for; as thus, that it would please you to understand who hath the gentlest horse in trotting and steering that is in Calais, and if he be to sell to send me word of his price, largeness, and colour.

It is told me that the master porter hath a courageous roaned horse, and that he would put him away because he is dangerous in company, and of that I force (*care*) not, so that he be not churlish at a spur, as plunging; and also I set not by him but if (*unless*) he trot somewhat high and genteelly. No more, but God keep you.

Latter end of March, or April,
1477. 17 E. IV.

¹ Expensive.

LETTER CCCXCII.—SIR JOHN IS GENEROUS TO HIS BROTHER

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston.

PLEASE it you to weet that I have received your letter, wherein is remembered the great hurt that by likelihood might fall to my brother, if so be that this matter between him and Sir Thomas Brews's daughter take not effect; whereof I would be as sorry as himself reasonably; and also the wealthy and convenient marriage that should be if it take effect; whereof I would be as glad as any man; and am better content now that he should have her, than any other that ever he was heretofore about to have had. Considered her person, her youth, and the stock that she is come of, the love on both sides, the tender favour she is in with her father and mother, the kindness of her father and mother to her in departing [*parting*] with her, the favour also and good conceit that they have in my brother, the worshipful and virtuous disposition of her father and mother, which prognosticateth that of likelihood the maid should be virtuous and good; all which considered, and the necessary relief that my brother must have, I marvel the less that ye have departed and given him the manor of Sparham in such form as I have knowledge of by W. Gurney, Lomner, and Skipwith; and I am right glad to see in you such kindness unto my brother as ye have done to him, and would by my troth lever (*rather*) than an iool. that it were fee-simple land, as it is intailed, which by likelihood should prosper with him and his blood the better in time to come, and should also never cause debate in our blood in time to come, which God defend, for that were unnatural.

Item, another inconvenience is, whereas I understand that the manor is given to my brother, and to his wife, and to the issue between them begotten, if the case were so that he and she had issue together a daughter or more, and his wife died, and he married after another and had issue a son, that son should have none land, and he being (*although he be*) his father's heir; and for the inconvenience that I have known late inure [*take place*] in case like, and yet endureth in Kent between a gentleman and his sister, I would ye took the advice of your counsel in this point; and that that is past you by writing or by promise, I deem verily in you that ye did it of kindness, and in eschewing of a more ill that might befall.

Item, whereas it pleaseth you that I should ratify, grant, and confirm the said gift unto my brother, it is so that with mine honesty I may not, and for other causes.

The pope will suffer a thing to be used, but he will not license nor grant it to be used nor done; and so I.

My brother John knoweth mine intent well enough heretofore in this matter; I will be found to him as kind a brother as I may be.

Item, if it be so that Sir Thomas Brews and his wife think that I would trouble my brother and his wife in the said manor, I can find no means to put them in surety thereof, but, if it need, to be bound in an obligation with a condition that I shall not trouble nor infet (*infest*) them therein.

Item, I think that she is made sure enough in estate in the land, and that of right I deem they shall make none obstacles at my writing, for I had never none estate in the land, nor I would not that I had.

No more to you at this time, but Almighty God have you in keeping.

Written at Calais, the 28th day of March, in the 17th year of Edward IV.

By your son,
JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

Calais, Friday,
28th of March, 1477.
17 E. IV.

LETTER CCCXCIII.—SIR JOHN WRITES KINDLY

[A kindly letter of Sir John to his brother, promising in generals, but saving his conscience and worship. The value set upon Boulogne, and the superstitious expectation of the intervention of the Virgin Mary in its favour, are curious instances of the manners of the age; but it must be remarked, to the credit of Sir John, that he does not seem infected with the superstition himself.]

To John Paston, Esq.

RIGHT worshipful and heartily-beloved brother, I recommend me to you; letting you weet, that as by Perse Moody, when he was here, I had no leisure to send answer in writing to you, and to my cousin Gurney, of your letters, but for a conclusion ye shall find me to you as kind as I may be, my conscience and worship saved, which, when I speak with you and them, ye both shall well understand, and I pray God send you as good speed in that matter as I would ye had, and as I hope ye shall have ere this letter come to you; and I pray God send you issue between you that may be as honourable as ever was any of your ancestors and theirs, whereof I would be as glad in manner as of mine own; wherefore I pray you send me word how ye do,

and if God fortune me to do well, and be of any power, I will be to Sir Thomas Brews and my lady his wife a very son-in-law for your sake, and take them as ye do; and do for them as if I were in case like with them as ye be.

No more, but Jesu have you in keeping.

Written at Calais, the 14th day of April, in the 17th year of Edward IV.

As for tidings here, the French king hath gotten many of the towns of the Duke of Burgundy, as Saint Quintin's, Abbeville, Montreuil; and now of late he hath gotten Bethune and Hesden with the castle there, which is one of the royalest castles of the world; and on Sunday at even the Admiral of France laid siege at Boulogne; and this day it is said that the French king shall come thither; and this night it is said that there was a vision seen about the walls of Boulogne, as it had been a woman with a marvellous light; men deem that our lady there will show herself a lover to that town; God forefend that it were French, it were worth 40,000*l.* that it were English.

JOHN PASTON, *knight.*

Calais, Monday,
14th of April, 1477.
17 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXCIV

[THE difficulties attending the arrangement of the pecuniary matters appear to have destroyed, at least for a time, John Paston's most hopeful prospects of marriage. His mother now writes from Mauteby to Dame Elizabeth Brews, soliciting an early interview with her and Sir Thomas in order that they may, if possible, remove the difficulties, observing to her with some skill, "that with your advice and help, and mine together, we shall find some way that it shall not break; for if it did it were none honour to neither parties, and in chief to them in whom the default is, considering that it is so far spoken."

She speaks of her son's great inclinations towards the marriage, and concludes, "I beseech you that I may be recommended by this bill to my cousin your husband, and to my cousin Margery, to whom I supposed to have given another name ere this time." Dated Wednesday, June 11, 1477.]

LETTER CCCXCV.—LORD HASTINGS TO JOHN PASTON

[This letter, as far as "xxvj. day of Aurill," is written by the secretary of the Lord Hastings, from thence to the end by that nobleman himself, in a hand almost illegible. John Paston appears here to have been in the service of, and so highly respected by, the Lord Hastings, as to be sent as a kind of deputy governor of the castle of Guisnes, during the illness of his brother, Sir Ralph Hastings. [We have placed it according to Fenn's chronological order, although we have no doubt that John Paston was not at Guisnes at this period. But as the original has no date of the year, it is much easier to discover that it is wrongly placed here than to decide where it would be properly placed. We are inclined to think, however, it may be guessed to belong to that earlier period when Sir John was exerting himself to get John Paston retained by Lord Hastings, he having probably succeeded, though it is not mentioned.]

To my right trusty and well-beloved servant, John Paston, Esq.

JOHN PASTON, I recommend me unto you. And whereas I appointed and desired you to go over unto Guisnes to give your attendance and assistance upon my brother, Sir Ralph Hastings, in all such things as concern the surety and defence of the castle of Guisnes during his infirmities; it is showed unto me that ye have full truly and diligently acquitted you unto my said brother, in all his businesses since your coming thither. Whereof I thank you heartily. And as I conceive to my great comfort and gladness my said brother is well recovered and amended, thanked be God. And so I trust he may now spare you. Whereupon I have written unto him, if he may so do, to license you to come over unto me again. Wherefore I will and desire you, the assent of my said brother had, to dispose you to come over in all goodly haste, as well for such great matters as I feel by your friends ye have to do here, as to give your attendance upon me. And (at) your return you shall be to me welcome. From London, the 26th day of April.

I pray you in nowise to depart as yet, without my brother Roaf's (*Ralph's*) assent and agreement; and recommend me to my sister, all my nieces, to the constable, and to all reeves.

Your true friend,
HASTINGS.¹

London, 26th of April, 147-.
E. IV.

¹ William Hastings, Lord Hastings, was summoned to Parliament in 1461, 1 E. IV. He was lieutenant of Calais, and enjoyed several high offices of trust and confidence in the reign of Edward IV. He married Katharine, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and was beheaded in the Tower, by the instant order of Richard Duke of Gloucester, on the 13th of June, 1483.

LETTER CCCXCVI.—JOHN'S MONEY AFFAIRS

[John Paston's money affairs occupy the principal part of this letter. Money, indeed, seems to have been looked after pretty sharply, when the 15*l.* due on the 21st has been the subject of a negotiation on or before the 23rd, and a "reasonable respite" granted, meaning, we suppose, for a "consideration."]

To John Paston, Esq.

I RECOMMEND me to you, letting you weet that I have spoken with Harry Colet,¹ and entreated him in my best wise for you, so that at the last he is agreed to a reasonable respite for the 15*l.* that ye should have paid him at Midsummer as he saith, and is glad to do you ease or pleasure in all that he may; and I told him that ye would, as I supposed, be here at London here not long to, and then he looketh after that ye should come see him, for he is sheriff, and hath a goodly house.

Item, my Lady of Oxford² looketh after you and Arblaster both.

My Lord of Oxford³ is not come into England that I can perceive, and so the good lady hath need of help and counsel how that she shall do.

No more at this time, but God have you in keeping.

Written at London on Saint Audrey's [*Etheldreda's*] day, in the 17th year of Edward IV.

Tidings but (*only*) that yesterday my Lady Marchioness of Dorset,⁴ which is my Lady Hastings's daughter, had childed a son.

Item, my Lord Chamberlain is come hither from Calais, and ridden with the king to Windsor, and the king will be here again on Monday.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Monday,
23rd of June, 1477.
17 E. IV.

¹ Sir Henry Colet was Lord Mayor of London in 1486.

² Margaret, daughter of Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury; she was, during the imprisonment of her lord, in great distress.

³ John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was at this time a prisoner in the castle of Hammes.

⁴ Cecily, second wife to Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was daughter and heir of William Bonville, Lord Bonville and Harrington, by Katharine, daughter of Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, who was now the wife of Lord Hastings, Lord Chamberlain, and governor of Calais.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXCVII

[THIS letter, or rather three letters in one, contains a curious display on the part of John Paston of what Sir John Fenn calls "good sense and address in managing a matter," "though some finesse appears." Perhaps the world now will be ill-natured enough to call it trickery, and indeed such is our opinion. Fenn chooses to assume that Sir Thomas Brews had failed in his promises, but this does not appear. His proposals, we have seen, were all conditional, and John Paston had been unable, from various causes, to comply with his terms. He now writes a short note to his mother, telling her that Dame Elizabeth Brews had been sick and not able till now to attend to business; that this day the matter had been communed, "but that other answer than she hath sent you in her letter closed herein can she not have of her husband." He therefore writes a letter in his mother's name which he begs her to have transcribed and sent to Dame Brews, together with "another letter to me, which I may show." In the first of these two he makes his mother say, "I am right sorry that John Paston is no more fortunate than he is in that matter, for, as I understand by your letter, my cousin your husband will give but an iool., which is no money like for such a jointure as is desired of my son, though his possibility were right easy. But, madam, when I made that large grant in the manor of Sparham, that I have made to him and my cousin your daughter, he told me of another sum that he should have with her than of an iool. He hath before this been wont to tell me none untruth, and what I shall deem in this matter I cannot say, for methinketh if more than an iool. were promised unto him by my cousin your husband, and you, that ye would not let to give it him, without so were that I or he abridged anything of our promise, which I wot well neither I nor he intend to do, if I may understand that his saying to me was truth, and that it may be performed; but wist I that he told me otherwise than my cousin your husband and ye promised him, in order to deceive me of Sparham, by my troth if he have it he shall lose as much by it, if I live, and that shall he well understand the next time I see him." He next alludes to his brother Sir John's refusal to alter the entail of Sparham, and makes his mother express her dislike to "become a daily petitioner of his, sith he hath denied me once mine asking; peradventure he had been better to have performed my desire." This is certainly a masterly stroke to excite at once the hopes

and fears of the opposite parties. She is then made to proceed thus: "but, madam, ye are a mother as well as I, where(*fore*) I pray you take it none otherwise but well that I may not do by John Paston as ye will have me to do, for, madam, though I would he did well, I have to purvey for more of my children than him, of which some be of that age that they can tell me well enough that I deal not evenly with them to give John Paston so large and them so little." John Paston here shows a most laudable interest in the welfare of his brethren, though it has not hitherto prevented his extorting all he could for himself. In the letter addressed to himself, he makes his mother express herself thus: "I understand well by my cousin Dame Elizabeth Brews's letter, which I send you herewith, whereby ye may understand the same, that they intend not to perform those proffers that ye told me they promised you, trusting that ye told me none otherwise than was promised you; wherefore I charge you on my blessing that ye be well aware how ye bestow your mind without ye have a substance whereupon to live, for I would be sorry to weet you miscarry, for if ye do, in your default, look never after help of me; and also I would be as sorry for her as for any gentlewoman living, wherefore I warn you beware in anywise." The cant of "bestowing his mind" is truly disgusting. His own letter is dated from Salle in Norfolk, June 28, and those intended for his mother from Mauteby, June 29, 1477.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXCVIII

[THIS and the following letter contain more of the family disputes about money, and new attempts to get assistance from the widow's property. In this Sir John is the actor; he acquaints his mother that he has no means of paying a debt due to one Kokett, about which she had written to him, because of his expenses for the surety of the manor of Caister, "and the matter between Anne Hawte and me"; he also announces that Sporle is mortgaged for four hundred marks (266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) to Townshend, to be paid within three years, or the manor to be forfeited, which, if it should happen, "ye were never like to see me merry after, so God help me." He then coolly adds: "Ye gave me once 20*l.* towards it, and ye promised as much, which I received, and since of my money of said manor growing that came to your hands was received by you again the said 40*l.*, which, when Kokett should be repaid, was not your ease to depart with; nevertheless ye may yet, when you liketh, perform your said

gift and promise, and this sum owing to Kokett is not so much; nevertheless I suppose that ye be not so well purveyed, wherefore if it please you at your ease hereafter to perform your said gift and promise, so that I may have it within a year, or two, or yet three, I should per case get your obligation again from Kokett an he pleased, wherefore I beseech you that I may have an assignment of such debts as be owing you payable at leisure of such money as is owing for the wood at Bassingham or elsewhere; for so God help me I should else wilfully undo myself." Respecting his brother John he says, "I have granted him as much as I may; I would I were at one communication atween them for his sake"; but adds that the period of his return home is uncertain. Dated Thursday, Aug. 7, 1477.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCXCIX

[THIS is Margaret Paston's reply to the previous letter, at which she seems to have been justly indignant. Without any greeting, she begins at once upon the business, and says: "I put you in certain that I will never pay him [Kokett] a penny of that duty that is owing to him, though he sue me for it, not of mine own purse, for I will not be compelled to pay your debts against my will; and though I would, I may [*can*] not; wherefore I advise ye to see me saved harmless against him for your own advantage in time coming; for, if I pay it, at long way ye shall bear the loss. And whereas ye write to me that I gave ye 20*l.*, and promised other 20*l.*, that is not so, for I wot well if I had so done ye would not assigned me by your letters of your own hand-writing, the which I have to show, that I should refrain [*retain*] again the same sum of William Peacock, and of your farmers, and buyers of your wood of Sporle; and take this for a full conclusion in this matter, for it shall be none otherwise for me than I write here to you." She then reproaches him for his improvidence, for having again "so simply" mortgaged Sporle, and says it makes her doubt "what your disposition will be hereafter for such livelihood as I have been disposed before this time to leave you after my decease; for I think verily that ye will be disposed hereafter to sell or set to mortgage the land that ye should have after me your mother, as gladly and rather than that ye have after your father." She concludes thus: "And as for your brother William, I would ye should purvey for his finding, for as I told you the last time ye were at home, I would no longer find him at my cost and charge; his board and his school-hire

is owing since St. Thomas's day afore Christmas; and he hath great need of gowns and other gear, that were necessary for him to have in haste. I would ye should remember it and purvey them, for as for me I will not. I think ye set but little by my blessing, and if ye did you would have desired it in your writing to me: God make you a good man to his pleasance." The brother William here mentioned was at this time at Eton, and Sir John had the management of the property left for the education and support of his younger brothers. This letter is dated from Mauteby, Monday, Aug. 11, 1477.]

LETTER CCCC.—OF THE WARS IN FRANCE

Unto the right worshipful Sir John Paston, Knight.

MASTER PASTON; after all due recommendation and hearty desire to hear of your good heale, please it you to weet I have spoken with Sir John of Middelton as well as I could and it had been for myself for his hobby that ye desired, and told him he might well forbear him now in as much as Mrs. Jane was dead, and that it is a great cost for him to keep more horse than he needeth; and he answered me that he would sell him with good will, but there should no man buy him under 10*l.* Flemish;¹ and I offered him in your name 10 marks, for he would not hear of none other ambling horse that ye might give him therefore.

And also my lord desired to have bought him for the Lord Schauntrell² that is chief captain of St. Omers; and he would (*for*) no less let my lord have him than 10*l.*, and so my lord bought another, and gave him the said lord, for he thought this too dear; nevertheless he will not sell him to no man under that money that he set him on, and so ye may buy your pleasure in him and ye list; for otherwise he will not do for you as I conceive.

And as for tidings in these parts, the French king lieth at siege at St. Omers, on the one side of the town, a mile off, but he hath no great ordnance there; and they of the town skirmish with them every day, and keep a passage half a mile without the town; and the French king hath brenned all the towns and

¹ Between 5*l.* and 6*l.* English, apparently a great price for a hobby.

² Ponton de Santrailles. A nobleman of this name was taken prisoner by the Duke of Bedford before Beauvais, and was exchanged for Lord Talbot when he was captured at the battle of Pataie.

fair abbeyes that were that way about St. Omers, and also the corns which are there.

And also, as it is said for certain, the French king hath brenned Cassell,¹ that is my old Lady of Burgundy's ² jointure, and all the country thereabout, whereby she hath lost a great part of her livelihood; and that is a shrewd token that he meaneth ³ well to the king our sovereign lord, when he intendeth to destroy her.

Moreover, Sir Philip de Creveker ⁴ hath taken them that were in Fynes ⁵ within this four days to the number of fourteen persons, and the remanent were fled, and he had them to the French king, and he hath brenned all the place, and pulled down the tower and a part of the wall, and destroyed it.

And as it is said, if the French king cannot get St. Omers, that he intendeth to bring his army through these Marches into Flanders, wherefore my lord hath do broken (*caused to be broken*) all the passages except Newham Bridge, which is watched, and the turnpike shut every night.

And the said French king within these three days railed greatly of (*on*) my lord to Tyger Poursuivant, openly before two hundred of his folks; wherefore it is thought here that he would feign a quarrel to set upon this town if he might get advantage.

And as I understand, the emperor's ⁶ son is married at Ghent as this day; and there came with him but four hundred horse, and I can hear of no more that be coming in certain; and in money he bringeth with him an hundred thousand ducats,⁷ which is but a small thing in regard for that he hath to do; wherefore I fear me sore that Flanders will be lost; and if St. Omers be won, all is gone in my conceit; nevertheless they say there should come great power after the emperor's son, but I believe it not because they have been so long of coming.

And I pray you to recommend me unto Sir Terry Robsart,⁸

¹ A town situated about 10 miles N.E. of St. Omers.

² Margaret, sister to Edward IV.

³ This seems to be spoken in irony.

⁴ [This is the Count of Crevecoeur, rendered so celebrated by Walter Scott's novel of *Quentin Durward*.]

⁵ [Furnes in West Flanders]

⁶ Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick, married Mary, daughter and heir of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. She was the richest heiress of her time, and had been promised by her father to many princes, and amongst the number to this prince, whom she now chose for herself. She was about 19 years of age at the time of her marriage, in August, 1477, and lived only five or six years after it.

⁷ A ducat of gold is worth about 10s.—Of silver, nearly 5s.

⁸ Sir Terry Robsart, knight, of Sidistern, in Norfolk, by the marriage of his daughter Lucy to Edward Walpole, Esq., became an ancestor to the Earls of Orford.

and that it please you to let him know of your tidings, and our Lord have you in his keeping.

At Calais, the Sunday next after the Assumption.

Your

EDMUND BEDYNGFELD.¹

Calais, Sunday,
17th of August, 1477.
17 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCI

[WILLIAM PEACOCK, the agent or steward at Mauteby, writes to his master Sir John Paston of several matters connected with his employment. The first seems to be the collecting of evidence for some matter in which Sir John was only partly interested, for he calls it "Pickering's matter," and in this he appears to have been very unsuccessful, for on applying to a certain friar in Pickering's name, his messenger received for answer, that if he (the friar) "had a bushellfull of evidence, he should none have of them, for he (Pickering) had set the land in trouble, nor he could have no sight of none." Peacock then proceeds to remind his master of his right of wreck at Winterton. This right of wreck, a right still inherent in many manors, seems at this time to have been very extensive; as from the quantities of timber, &c., alleged to have been stolen, the wreck in this case must have been almost the entire ship and cargo. Peacock says, "these are the men's names of Winterton, Robert Parker of West-Somerton, John Loneyard of Winterton, Thomas Woodknappe of the same, William Wrantham and John Curteys of the same Winterton, that carried off your several ground twenty-two cartsfull of stuff, eight score bow-staves, three score and seven wainscoats, fourteen hundred clepalde,² five barrels of tar, four couple of oars, and great plenty of wreck of the ship, as ye shall understand the truth after this." The rest of the letter is of minor matters: he informs Sir John that the "herrings that should into Essex, are there by the grace of God," the cost having been 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* beside other costs; this sum must have purchased a very large quantity of herrings at this time, the

¹ Edmund Bedyngfeld married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Scott, comptroller of Calais, and was created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Richard III. He was highly in favour with Henry VII., who paid him a royal visit at Oxburgh, in Norfolk; which fine seat he built. He died in 1496.

² Wainscoats were planks (probably oak) for lining the walls of rooms; clepaldes or clapboards were boards cut ready for making casks.

price of a horse-load being stated to be 4s. 6d. in Letter lxxv. (vol. i. p. 81). Fenn guesses they were for winter provisions, but Paston had no residence in Essex. Swans are also promised to be sent into Essex by the Lady-day following; and he complains that "I sold yet no barley, nor none can above fourteen pence the comb." The letter is written at Mauteby on Sunday, November 30, 1477.]

LETTER CCCII.—J. PASTON AND MARGERY BREWS ARE
NOW MARRIED

[John Paston is at length married, and to Margery Brews, who is living, not with her parents according to one of the proposed arrangements, but at Oxnead, one of the residences of the family, and part of the jointure of Agnes Paston, her husband being at this time in London. It is a pretty simple letter, very characteristic of a young wife. Sir John Fenn queries whether the date assigned to it is right, or whether "our Lady's day" and "Saint Thomas's day" may not mean the visitation of the Virgin Mary, July 2, and the translation of St. Thomas à Becket, July 7, 1478. We think the present date right from the following circumstances; the next letter is from her husband, mentioning her removal to the house of her father and mother on account of her situation, and is dated Jan. 21, 1477-8; and though Sir John does not write till August, 1478, to congratulate his brother on the birth of an heir, yet he complains of the delay which had taken place in informing him of the event.]

To my right reverend and worshipful husband, John Paston.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful husband, I recommend me to you, desiring heartily to hear of your welfare, thanking you for the token that ye sent me by Edmund Perys, praying you to weet that my mother sent to my father to London for a gown cloth of mustyrddevyllers¹ to make of a gown for me; and he told my mother and me when he was come home, that he charged you to buy it after that he was come out of London. I pray you, if it be not bought, that you will vouchsafe to buy it and send it home as soon as ye may, for I have no gown to wear this

¹ This word occurs more than once in these letters, but the meaning of it I cannot ascertain to my own satisfaction; though perhaps it refers to some place in France where the cloth was manufactured. The following, however, appears the most satisfactory explanation: Musterdevelers—mustyrddevyllers, *moitie*, or (as sometimes anciently and erroneously spelt) *mestier de velours*, French, a half-velvet; or *mestis de velours*, a bastard-velvet. *Mestoyant* is also an old French word, signifying *between both*. On the present occasion, a proper allowance must be made for the imperfections of female spelling, in an age of unsettled orthography. [Elsewhere the word is spelt *musterdevelers*. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, in a list of articles shipped from England for the use of the King of Portugal and the Countess of Holland in 1428, two pieces of *mustrevilers* and two pieces of russet *mustrevilers* are enumerated.]

winter but my black and my green a lyer,¹ and that is so cumbrous that I am weary to wear it.

As for the girdle that my father behested me, I spake to him thereof a little before he yed to London last, and he said to me that the fault was in you that ye would not think thereupon to do make it (*to have it made*), but I suppose it is not so, said it but for a skeusacion (*an excuse*); I pray you, if ye dare take it upon you, that ye will vouchsafe to do make it against ye come home, for I had never more need thereof than I have now, for I have waxed so fetys (*prettily*) that I may not be girt in no bar of no girdle that I have but of one. Elizabeth Peverel hath lain sick fifteen or sixteen weeks of the sciatica, but she sent my mother word by Kate that she should come hither when God sent time, though she should be crod (*carried*) in a barrow.

John of Damme was here, and my mother discovered me to him, and he said by his truth that he was not gladder of nothing that he heard this twelvemonth than he was thereof.

I may no longer live by my craft (*cunning*), I am discovered of all men that see me.

Of all other things that ye desired that I should send you word of, I have sent you word of in a letter that I did write on our Lady's day² last was; the Holy Trinity have you in his keeping.

Written at Oxnead, in right good haste, on the Thursday next before Saint Thomas's day.³

I pray you that ye will wear the ring⁴ with the image of Saint Margaret that I sent you for a remembrance till ye come home. Ye have left me such a remembrance that maketh me to think upon you both day and night when I would sleep.

Yours,

MARGERY PASTON.

Oxnead, Thursday,
18th of December, 1477.
17 E. IV.

¹ Qu. *grenouillère*, frog-colour?

² Conception of our Lady, 8th of December.

³ [Dec. 21.]

⁴ This ring, bearing the image of her favourite saint, being worn by her husband as a remembrance, might be looked upon as a guardian to her in her then situation, and be a means of preserving her from any disagreeable accident.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCI

[JOHN PASTON in this letter advises his brother Sir John to conclude his matters now, if possible, with the Duke of Suffolk, probably matters relating to the contested property at Heylesdon and elsewhere, because "an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) will do more in their need than ye shall peradventure do with two hundred marks in time coming," some of the Duke of Suffolk's folks having "let me in secret wise have knowledge that he (the Duke) must make a shift for money, and that in all haste"; and the Duchess is said to be the person to treat with, "as for my lord, he needeth not to be moved till it shall be as good as ready for the sealing." John Paston next informs his brother that the priest of the newly-founded chapel at Caister had written by an attorney for an account and payment of his profits, and suggests that as "ye said unto me that ye would assay to make a bargain with him so that ye might have a priest to sing in Caister; Sir, methink, ye cannot have so good a season to move him with it as now this parliament time, for now I think he shall be awaiting on the queen;¹ and also if ye might compound with him ere he wist what the value were, it were the better." He says, "We would fain hear of all your royalty at London, as of the marriage of my Lord of York." This was the marriage of the younger son of Edward IV. to Ann Mowbray, the daughter and heiress of John Duke of Norfolk, who died very young, and which took place on Jan. 15, 1477-8, and fixes the correctness of the date of this letter. He then concludes, "And, Sir, as for my housewife, I am fain to carry her to see her father and her friends now this winter, for I trow she will be out of fashion (*shape*) in summer." The letter is written from the house of Playters, where he stayed in his progress "from my father Brews unto Mauteby," and is dated Jan. 21, 17 Edward IV., 1477-8.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCII

[JOHN PASTON writes to his mother from Swainsthorp, informing her of his having made an appointment for her with James Hubbart and Dr. Pykenham at Norwich during the week after Midlent Sunday, for the purpose of advising her on certain matters relating to her property; and in a postscript tells her she ought to be in Norwich five or six days before the lawyers,

¹ The priest of Caister chapel was Dr. Yotton, chaplain also to the queen.

to look up her evidences and all other things; probably her title-deeds connected with the property disputed between her and the Duke of Suffolk. Being now married himself, John Paston seems to have been employing his talents for match-making in favour of his brother Edmund; and he writes to his mother: "I heard while I was in London where was a goodly young woman to marry, which was daughter to one Seff, a mercer, and she shall have 200*l.* in money to her marriage, and twenty marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) by year of land, after the decease of a step-mother of hers, which is upon fifty years of age; and ere I departed out of London I spake with some of the maid's friends, and have gotten their good wills to have her married to my brother Edmund: notwithstanding those friends of the maid's that I communed with advised me to get the good will of one Sturmyn, which is in Master Pykenham's danger (*debt*) so much that he is glad to please him. And so I moved this matter to Master Pykenham, and incontinently he sent for Sturmyn, and delivered his good will for my brother Edmund; and he granted him his good will, so that he could get the good will of the remanent that were executors to Seff as well as the said Sturmyn was; and thus far forth is the matter." He then requests a letter from his mother in favour of Edmund to Dr. Pykenham, and he says, "and, for I am acquainted with your conditions of old, that ye reck not who inditeth more letters than ye, therefore I have drawn a note to your secretary's hand, Friar Perse, which letter we must pray you to send us by the bearer hereof, and I trust it shall not be long from Master Pykenham." John Paston seems to have been possessed with a most active spirit of intrigue. Edmund Paston was at this time staying at Swainsthorp, which, however, his brother says, "for none interest that his hostess your daughter nor I could intreat him, might not keep him but that he would have been at home with you at Mauteby on Sunday last past at night; and as he was departing from hence had we word from French's wife that, God yeld (*thank*) you, mother, ye had given him leave to disport him here with us for a seven or eight days, and so the drevyll (*simpleton*) lost his thank of us and yet abode nevertheless. Your daughter sendeth you part of such poor stuff as I sent her from London, beseeching you to take it in gree (*favour*), though it be little plenty that she sendeth you; but as for dates, I will say truth, ye have not so many by two pounds as were meant unto you, for she thinks at this season dates right good meat, whatsoever it meaneth, I pray God send good tidings." Fenn

says that dates were formerly considered wholesome for ladies in Margery Paston's situation, and at any rate the notice is curious. The letter is dated Ash Wednesday, Feb. 4, 1477-8.]

LETTER CCCC.V.—OF A YOUNG LADY; AND SOME POOR
LATIN VERSES

This letter combines very curiously an account of the writer's school-boy studies and progress with that of his courtship and a description of his mistress. Besides an interesting picture of the domestic manners of the time, it proves, as is remarked by Hallam in his *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 597, "that Latin versification was taught at Eton as early as the beginning of Edward the IVth's reign. It is true that the specimen he (Master Wm. Paston) rather proudly exhibits, does not much differ from what we denominate nonsense verses. But a more material observation is, that the sons of country gentlemen living at a considerable distance were already sent to public schools for grammatical education." We may add, W. Paston was apparently not on the foundation, but sent as a boarder.

To his worshipful brother, John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful brother, after all duties of commendation I recommend me to you, desiring to hear of your prosperity and welfare, which I pray God long to continue to his pleasure and to your heart's desire; letting you weet that I received a letter from you, in the which letter was 8*d.* with the which I should buy a pair of slippers.

Farthermore certifying you as for the 13*s.* 4*d.* which ye sent by a gentleman's man for my board, called Thomas Newton, was delivered to mine hostess, and so to my creancer, Mr. Thomas Stevenson; and he heartily recommended him to you; also ye sent me word in the letter of 12*lb.* of figgs¹ and 8*lb.* of raisins; I have them not delivered, but I doubt not I shall have, for Alweder told me of them, and he said that they came after in another barge.

And as for the young gentlewoman, I will certify you how I first fell in acquaintance with her; her father is dead, there be two sisters of them, the elder is just wedded; at which wedding I was with mine hostess, and also desired (*invited*) by the gentleman himself, called William Swan, whose dwelling is in Eton. So it fortun'd that mine hostess reported on me otherwise than I was worthy,² so that her mother commanded her to make me good cheer, and so in good faith she did; she is not abiding where she is now, her dwelling is in London; but her mother and

¹ These were for his subsistence in Lent.

² [Beyond what I was worthy of.]

she came to a place of hers five miles from Eton where the wedding was, for because it was nigh to the gentleman which wedded her daughter; and on Monday next coming, that is to say, the first Monday of Clean Lent,¹ her mother and she will go to the pardon at Sheene, and so forth to London, and there to abide in a place of hers in Bow Churchyard; and if it please you to inquire of her, her mother's name is Mistress Alborow, the name of the daughter is Margaret Alborow, the age of her is, by all likelyhood, eighteen or nineteen years at the farthest; and as for the money and plate, it is ready whensoever she were wedded; but as for the livelihood, I trow not till after her mother's decease, but I cannot tell you for very certain, but you may know by inquiring.

And as for her beauty, judge you that when you see her, if so be that ye take the labour; and specially behold her hands, for and if it be as it is told me, she is disposed to be thick.

And as for my coming from Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to have with a little continuance.

Quare, Quomodo. Non valet hora, valet mora.

Unde dī |o|

Arbore jam videas exemplum. Non die possunt
Omnia suppleri, sed tū illa mora.

And these two verses aforesaid be of mine own making
No more to you at this time, but God have you in his keeping.

Written at Eton the even of Saint Mathias the Apostle, in haste, with the hand of your brother.

WILLIAM PASTON, *junior*.

Eton, Wednesday,
23rd of February, 1478-9.
18 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCVI

[THIS is a very strange letter. The writer, after recommending herself in the usual style, proceeds thus: "Touching the cause of my writing to your mastership is, forasmuch as I appointed with you to have been with you by the day that ye assigned me of, the which, without your good supportation, I cannot well have mine intent, without it please you to send one of your

¹ In 1479 the first Sunday in Lent fell on the 28th of February, which agrees with the date, St. Mathias being on the 24th of February. Sheen is now called Richmond, so named by Henry VII.

men to me, and I shall provide a letter in mine uncle's name, the which he shall deliver to my cousin as (*if*) he were my uncle's messenger; and by this mean I will come at your request, for my cousin would I should not depart with him (*leave him*), without it were to mine uncle's service; his and all others I refuse for yours, if my simple service may be to your pleasure; and of an answer hereof I beseech you by the bringer of my bill, and I will conform me to your intent by the grace of God, the which mot (*may*) preserve you at all hours." Signed "By your woman and servant, CONSTANCE RENNYFORTH," Cobham, Saturday, March 21, 1477-8. By this lady Sir John had a natural daughter, to whom her mother left ten marks, by will, dated Feb. 4, 1481, on her coming of age; she afterwards appears to have resided with her uncle John Paston, then Sir John, between 1495 and 1500, and to have been sought in marriage by John Clippesby, of Oby, Esq., as appears from another letter given in the fifth vol. of the quarto edition, of the reign of Henry VII. Sir John Fenn says, "The style of this letter is artless and simple, but the lady's contrivance by a forged letter, as from her uncle to her cousin, to leave him and to go to Sir John, shows she understood what she had undertaken, and that her attachment to him got the better of every other consideration." Artless and simple! He adds, "no one can read this letter without feeling an interest in the welfare of her writer." To us the style of language, so obscure and involved, and the spelling, which is not very good in the original, seems rather that of a bold and perhaps vulgar woman.]

LETTER CCCCVII.—OF A SUITABLE TOMB FOR SIR JOHN'S FATHER

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston, be this delivered.

PLEASE it you to weet, that whereas I intended to have been at home this Midsummer, and purposed with your good help to have begun upon my father's tomb so that it might have been ended this summer; it is so, that for such causes as are now begun between my Lord of Suffolk and me for the manors of Heylesdon, Drayton, &c., for which matters I must needs be here this next term; therefore I deem it would be after Midsummer ere than I can see you.

Please it you also to weet that I communed with Master Pykenham to weet if he would buy the cloth of gold for so much

as he desired once to have bought it, and he offered me once 20 marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) therefor, nevertheless it cost me 24*l.*; yet now, when that I spake to him thereof, he refused to buy it; and said that he had now so many charges that he may not.

But it is so that the king doth make certain copes and vestments of like cloth, which he intendeth to give to the college of Fotheringay where my Lord his father is now buried, and he buyeth at a great price; I communed with the vestment maker for to help me forth with twelve yards, and he hath granted to do as Wheatley can tell you; wherefore if it please you that it be bestowed for to make a tomb for my father at Bromholm, if ye like to send it hither, if it be sold I undertake ere Michaelmas that there shall be a tomb and somewhat else over my father's grave, on whose soul God have mercy, that there shall none be like it in Norfolk; and as ye shall be glad hereafter to see it; and God send me leisure that I may come home, and if I do not, yet the money shall be put to none other use, but kept by some that ye trust till that it may be bestowed according as is above written, and else I give you cause never to trust me while ye and I live.

When I was last with you, ye granted that the said cloth of gold should be bewared (*expended in exchange*) about this work that is above written, which, if ye will perform, I undertake that there shall be such a tomb as ye shall be pleased at, though it cost me 20 marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) of mine own purse beside, if I once set upon it.

No more, but I beseech God have you in his keeping.

Written at London the Wednesday in Whitsun-week, in the 18th year of Edward IV.

Please it you to send me word by Wheatley of your pleasure herein.

By your son,

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Wednesday,
13th of May, 1478. 18 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCVIII

[WALTER PASTON writes to his mother Margaret from Oxford relative to his expenses there. He says, "I marvel sore that you sent me no word of the letter which I sent to you by Master William Brown at Easter. I sent you word that time that I should send you mine expenses particularly; but as at this time the bearer hereof had a letter suddenly that he should

come home, and therefore I could have no leisure to send them you on that wise, and therefore I shall write to you in this letter the whole sum of my expenses since I was with you till Easter last past, and also the receipts, reckoning the twenty shillings that I had of you to Oxon wards with the bishop's finding:—

	£	s.	d.
The whole sum of receipts is	5	17	6
And the whole sum of expenses is	6	5	5 ³ / ₄
And that [<i>what</i>] cometh over my receipts and my expenses I have borrowed of Master Edmund, and it draweth to	0	8	0

and yet I reckon none expenses since Easter, but as for them they be not great." Fenn says, "Had this letter contained a particular account of Walter Paston's expenses at Oxford it would have been more curious; we must, however, take it as we find it, and be content with knowing that he had expended 6*l.* 5*s.* 5³/₄*d.* from the time he left his mother to Easter last, which this year fell on the 22nd March, from which time it was now two months, and of the expenses 'since incurred' he says 'they be not great.' We may therefore conclude the former account was from the Michaelmas preceding, and a moderate one; if so we may fairly estimate his university education at 100*l.* a-year of our present money. I mean that 12*l.* 10*s.* 11¹/₂*d.* would then procure as many necessities and comforts as 100*l.* will at this day." This letter is dated Tuesday, May 19, 1478, and is signed "By your sonn and scoler, Walter Paston."]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCIX

[J. WHETLEY (or Wheatley) here writes a long letter to Sir John Paston, "lodged at the sign of the George at Paul's Wharf in London," about divers matters connected with the litigated titles to Heylesdon and Drayton manors. He says, "First, your subpœna to Denton was delivered by me on Trinity Sunday in his parish church at matins time, before all the substance of the parish." The serving of a subpœna on a Sunday in service time, and publicly, is a very curious circumstance, and it is not mentioned as being at all out of the ordinary course: when personal feelings or interests were involved the clergy seem to have been treated with as little ceremony as the laity. He then proceeds to describe the proceedings at Drayton and Heylesdon, and gives us a lively sketch of the Duke of Suffolk's

blustering bearing and manners, seeming to have out-Heroded Herod. "As for Drayton wood it is not all down yet, but it draws fast toward. I have the names of all the ministers (*servants or agents*) of and in that wood, and more shall know ere I come if there be any more dealing, &c. And as for Heylesdon, my Lord of Suffolk¹ was there on Wednesday in Whitsun week (*13th May*), and there dined, and drew a stew, and took great plenty of fish; yet hath he left you a pike or two again ye come, the which would be great comfort to all your friends and discomfort to your enemies; for at his being there that day there was never no man that played Herod in Corpus Christi play² better, and more agreeable to his pageant, than he did; but ye shall understand that it was afternoon and the weather hot, and he so feeble for sickness that his legs would not bear him, but there was two men had great pain to keep him on his feet; and there ye were judged. Some said 'slay,' some said 'put him in prison'; and forth come my lord, and he would meet you with a spear, and have none other mends (*amends*) for that trouble as ye have put him to but your heart's blood, and that will he get with his own hands; for and (*if*) ye have Heylesdon and Drayton ye shall have his life with it; and so he comforted your enemies with that word that they have dealed and dealeth with the wood; and (*the*) most principal now is Nicholas Ovy, for as for Farrer³ the mayor he deals not without it be under covert; for it is said that he besought my lord that he might have other assignments for his money that he had paid, for plainly he would deal no more with the wood; and so my lord hath set in the bailiff of Cossey: and all is done in his name; and as for his servants, they daily threat my master your brother and me to slay for coming on their lord's ground; and they say that we made aventure, and they be answered as ye commanded me, for many a great challenge make they to Master John, both Master Wodehouse, Wiseman, with other divers that I know not their names, but he holdeth his own that they get no ground of him; and this he lets them know, that if they beat him or any of his they shall abide (*suffer*) six for one, and so they deal not but with their tongues; and as yet, since Farrer was at London, there

¹ John de la Ploe, Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth, third daughter of Richard Plantagenet, and sister of Edward IV.

² [The old mysteries or miracle plays. Corpus Christi day is the Thursday after the octave of Whitsuntide, a time when the mysteries were frequently performed.]

³ [Richard Farrer, or Ferriour, was five times mayor of Norwich, in 1473, 1478, 1483, 1493, and 1498.]

passes not three acres of wood down, but they carry fast for fear of rain." It is also added, farther on, that Farrer is said to have denied being aware that Sir J. Paston had an interest in the manors, and also that "Wiseman was bound to Farrer to save him harmless, and he had for bringing that matter about, that Farrer should have the wood, twenty shillings." This we suppose was on account of the difficulty of getting a customer from the generally-known disputed title to the property. Wheatley then mentions that he had applied to one Popy for money claimed from him by Paston, "which as he (Popy) saith is a strange thing to him," for as it appears the person who owed the debt was his uncle; but he was, it seems, not unwilling to pay a part for a release from the whole, like a wise man, rather than be probably involved in a law-suit. Wheatley next states that Worcester (or Botoner) is again moving as to Sir J. Fastolf's affairs, but he does not write fully, as he expects to be with Sir John in about a week, "without I may have more comfort of money than I have yet." He adds, "And as for my mistress, your mother, (*she*) hath been greatly diseased and so sick that she weened to have died, and hath made her will, the which ye shall understand more when I come, for there is every man for himself; I know not the circumstance of every thing as yet, and therefore I write no more to you therein, but I am promised to know ere I depart from thence." This will never took effect, as the one proved after her death was dated Feb. 4, 1481. This long and interesting letter is dated from Norwich, May 20, 1478.]

LETTER CCCCX.—OF THE TOMB, AND OF A PROPOSED BRIDE

The following is indorsed, "Lrā Johi Paston mil p. quā patet." "Se fore in magno favore Regis." This letter is in answer to that of Sir John Paston to his mother, dated 13th of May, 1478, and shows the desire that she had that some tomb should be erected over her husband's grave. [The mention of Clere expending 100*l.* upon the desks in the choir is very curious; the sum is large, but was probably for the rich though sometimes grotesque carvings so profusely lavished on some of our ancient religious edifices. Her advice regarding the marriage is also noticeable, if only for the kindly womanly feeling that breaks out through the other selfish motives suggested by her, "if ye can find in your heart to love her."]

To the right worshipful Sir John Paston, Knight.

I GREET you well, and send you God's blessing and mine; letting you weet that I have sent you by Wheatley the cloth of gold, charging you that it be not sold to none other use than to the performing of your father's tomb as ye send me word in writing;

if ye sell it to any other use, by my troth, I shall never trust you while I live.

Remember that it cost me 20 marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) the pledging out of it, and if I were not glad to see that made, I would not depart from it. Remember you what charge I have had with you of late, which will not be for my ease this two years; when ye may, better, I trust ye will remember it.

My cousin Clere¹ doth as much cost at Bromholm as will draw an iool. upon the desks in the choir, and in other places, and Heydon in likewise, and if there should nothing be done for your father it would be too great a shame for us all, and in chief to see him lie as he doth.

Also as I understand it, my cousin Robert Clere thinketh great unkindness in dealing with him of Peacock, for certain pasture that ye granted him to have, and Peacock hath let it to others, such as he list to let it to, notwithstanding my cousin hath laid the pasture with his cattle, and Peacock hath distrained them. I think this dealing is not as it should be: I would that each of you should do for other, and live as kinsmen and friends; for such servants may make trouble betwixt you, which were against courtesy, so nigh neighbours as ye be. He is a man of substance and worship, and so will be taken in this shire; and I were loath that ye should lose the good will of such as may do for you.

Item, whereas ye have begun your claim in Heylesdon and Drayton, I pray God send you good speed and furtherance in it; ye have as good a season as ye would wish, considering that your adversary stands not in best favour with the king.

Also ye have the voice in this country, that ye may do as much with the king as any knight that is belonging to the court; if it be so, I pray God continue it; and also that ye should marry right nigh of the queen's blood;² what she is we are not as certain, but if it be so that your land should come again by the reason of your marriage, and to be set in rest, at the reverence of God forsake it not if ye can find in your heart to love her, so that she be such one as ye can think to have issue by, or else by my troth I had rather that ye never married in your life.

Also, if your matter take not now to good effect, ye and all your friends may repent them that ye began your claim, without that ye have taken such a sure way as may be to your intent,

¹ William or Thomas Clere; they both died without issue, and were succeeded by Robert their next brother, who was knighted in 1494 and died in 1529. The advice which she gives her son respecting his behaviour towards this gentleman shows her to be a woman of sense and discernment.

² Some lady of the Woodvile or Widvile family.

for many inconveniences that may fall thereof; God send you good speed in all your matters.

Written at Mauteby, the day after Saint Austin,¹ in May, the 18th year of King Edward IV.

By your mother.

Mauteby, Tuesday,
26th of May, 1478. 18 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXI.—CONGRATULATIONS AND NEWS

We see by this account the methods practised by the great men of the time to get possession of estates and benefices; and we are informed of the king's intention of sitting as a judge to try a criminal. The anecdotes likewise of the Earl of Oxford are curious.

To John Paston, Esq., be this letter delivered, or to my mistress, his wife, at Norwich, to deliver to him.

BROTHER JOHN, I recommend me to you, and I thank God, my sister your wife, and you, of my fair nephew Christopher, which I understand ye have, whereof I am right glad, and I pray God send you many if it be his pleasure; nevertheless ye be not kind that ye send me no weeting thereof; I had knowledge by footmen or ever ye could find any messenger on horseback to being me word thereof.

Sir, it is so that the Duke of Buckingham² shall come on pilgrimage to Walsingham, and so to Bokenham Castle to my lady his sister;³ and then it is supposed, that he shall to my Lady of Norfolk,⁴ and mine uncle William cometh with him; and he telleth me that there is like to be trouble in the manor of Oxnead; wherefore I pray you take heed lest that the Duke of Suffolk's council play therewith now at the vacation of the benefice,⁵ as they did with the benefice of Drayton, which by the help of Master John Salett and Donne his man, there was a quest made by the said Donne, that found that the Duke of Suffolk was very patron, which was false, yet they did it for an evidence; but now if any such prat (*practice*) should be laboured it is I hope in better case, for such a thing must needs be found

¹ St. Augustine, 25th of May.

² Henry Stafford. He was beheaded in 1483, 1 Richard III.

³ Joan, sister to Henry Duke of Buckingham, was the second wife of Sir William Knevet, knight, of Bokenham Castle, Norfolk.

⁴ Elizabeth, widow of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

⁵ Agnes Paston, grandmother to Sir John, presented Thomas Everard to the rectory of Oxnead in 1475, and in 1479 she again presented William Barthulmew, so that the Duke of Suffolk either did not attempt to disturb her right, or at least did not succeed if he endeavoured to do it.

before Master John Smyth, who is our old friend; wherefore I pray you labour him, that, if need be, he may do us a friend's turn therein.

Item, both ye and I must needs take this matter as our own, and it were for none other cause but for our good grandam's sake; nevertheless ye wrote well, that there is another entress (*interest*) longing to us after her decease; if there be any such thing begun there by such a fryer or priest, as it is said, I marvel that ye sent me no word thereof: but ye have now wife and child, and so much to care for that ye forget me.

As for tidings here, I hear tell that my cousin Sir Robert Chamberlain hath entered the manor of Scolton upon your bedfellow Conyers, whereof ye send me no word.

Item, young William Brandon¹ is arrested for that he should have by force ravished an old gentlewoman, and yet was not therewith eased, but ravished her eldest daughter, and then would have ravished the other sister both; wherefore men say foul of him, and that he would eat the hen and all her chickens; and some say that the king intendeth to sit upon him, and men say he is like to be hanged, for he hath wedded a widow.

Item, as for the pageant that men say that the Earl of Oxford hath played at Hammes, I suppose ye have heard thereof; it is so long ago, I was not in this country when the tidings came, therefore I sent you no word thereof; but for conclusion, as I hear say, he leaped the walls, and went to the dyke, and into the dyke to the chin; to what intent I cannot tell; some say to steal away, and some think he would have drowned himself, and so it is deemed.

No more, but I am not certain whether I shall come home in haste or not.

Written at London, the day next St. Bartholomew,² in the eighteenth year of Edward IV.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Sunday or Tuesday,
23rd or 25th of August, 1478.
18 E. IV.

¹ We are not told who this William Brandon was, therefore it must remain uncertain whether he was related to Sir William Brandon or not.

² 24th of August.

LETTER CCCCXII.—AN ETON BOY

To his worshipful brother John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful brother, I recommend me unto you, desiring to hear of your welfare and prosperity, letting you weet that I have received of Alweder a letter and a noble in gold therein; furthermore my creanser (*creditor*) Master Thomas (*Stevenson*) heartily recommended him to you, and he prayeth you to send him some money for my commons, for he saith ye be 20s. in his debt, for a month was to pay for, when he had money last; also I beseech you to send me a hose cloth, one for the holydays of some colour, and another for the working days how coarse soever it be it maketh no matter, and a stomacher, and two shirts, and a pair of slippers: and if it like you that I may come with Alweder by water, and sport me with you at London a day or two this term time, then ye may let all this be till the time that I come, and then I will tell you when I shall be ready to come from Eton by the grace of God, who have you in his keeping. Written the Saturday next after Allhallows day with the hand of your brother,

WILLIAM PASTON.

Eton, Saturday,
7th of November, 1478.
18 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXIII.—WALTER PASTON INELIGIBLE FOR THE CHURCH

To my Mistress Margaret Paston at Norwich.

MY worshipful Mistress, I recommend me unto you, and thank you of your approved ensured kindness evermore showed, and so I pray you to continue. I have received your letter and understand your desire, which is against the law for three causes; one is, for your son Walter is not tonsured, in mother tongue called Benett; another cause, he is not twenty-four years of age, which is required compleat. The third, he ought of right to be priest within twelvemonths after that he is parson,¹ without so were he had a dispensation from Rome, by our Holy Father the Pope, which I am certain cannot be had; therefore I present not your desire unto my Lord, lest ye would have taken it to a displeasure; or else to take a great simpleness in your desire,

¹ [This refers to his serving as a curate as a qualification for orders.]

which should cause him, in such matters as shall fortune you to speed with him another time, to show unto you the rigour of the law, which I would be loth; therefore present another man able; ask counsel of Master John Smyth, and cease of your desire in this part, for it is not goodly neither godly; and let not your desire be known after my advice: be not wroth, though I send unto you thus plainly in the matter, for I would ye did as well as any woman in Norfolk, that is, with right, to your honour, prosperity, and to the pleasure of God, with you and all yours, who have you in his blessed keeping. From Hoxne on Candlemas day.

I send you your present again in the box.

WILLIAM PYKENHAM.

Hoxne, Tuesday,
2nd of February, 1478-9.
18 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXIV.—WALTER AT OXFORD

To his worshipful mistress, Mistress Margaret Paston.

RIGHT worshipful Mistress, I recommend me unto you as lowly as I can, thanking you for your goodness at all times, God grant me to deserve it and do that may please you.

As for your son Walter, his labour and learning hath been, and is, in the faculty of art, and is well sped therein: and (*he*) may be bachelor at such time as shall like you, and then to go to law, I can think it to his preferring, but it is not good he know it unto the time he shall change; and as I conceive there shall none have that exhibition to the faculty of law, therefore move ye the executors that at such time as he shall leave it, ye may put another in his place, such as shall like you to prefer. If he shall go to law, and be made bachelor of arts before, and ye will have him home this year, then may he be bachelor at Midsummer and be with you in the vacation, and go to law at Michaelmas.

What it shall like you to command me in this or any other, ye shall have mine service ready.

I pray you by the next messenger to send me your intent, that such as shall be necessary may be purveyed in season, and Jesu preserve you. At Oxinforth the 4th day of March.

Your Scholar,

EDMUND ALYARD.

Oxford, Thursday,
4th of March, 1478-9.
18 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXV.—WALTER'S OXFORD EXPENSES

*To his right reverend brother Sir John Paston, at Caister Hall
in Norfolk.*

AFTER all due reverence and recommendations, liketh it you to understand that I received a letter from my brother John, whereby I understood that my mother and you would know what the costs of my proceeding should be; I sent a letter to my brother John certifying my costs, and the causes why that I would proceed, but as I have sent word to my mother, I purpose to tarry now till it be Michaelmas, for if I tarry till then, some of my costs shall be paid, for I supposed, when that I sent the letter to my brother John, that the queen's brother should have proceeded at Midsummer, but he will tarry now till Michaelmas, but as I sent word to my mother, I would be Inceptor before Midsummer, and therefore I beseeched her to send me some money, for it will be some cost to me, but not much.

Sir, I beseech you to send me word what answer ye have of the Bishop of Winchester for that matter which ye spake to him of for me, when I was with you at London: I thought for to have had word thereof ere this time: I would it would come, for our finding of the Bishop of Norwich beginneth to be slack in payment; and if ye know not what this term meaneth "Inceptor," Master Edmund, that was my ruler at Oxford, bearer hereof, can tell you, or else any other graduate.

Also, I pray you send me word what is done with the horse I left at Tottenham, and whether the man be content that I had it of or not. Jesu preserve you to his pleasure, and to your most heart's desire. Written at Oxford the Saturday next after the Ascension of our Lord.

WALTER PASTON.

Oxford, Saturday,
22nd of May, 1479.
19 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXVI.—WALTER A B.A.

*To his right trusty and heartily beloved brother, John Paston,
abiding at the George at Paul's Wharf in London, be this
letter delivered.*

RIGHT worshipful and heartily beloved brother, I recommend me unto you, desiring faithfully to hear of your prosperity, which God preserve, thanking you of divers letters that you sent me.

In the last letter that you sent to me, ye writ that you should have writ in the letter that you sent by Master Brown, how that I should send you word what time that I should proceed, but there was none such writing in that letter; the letter is yet to show, and if you come to Oxon, ye shall see the letter, and all the letters that you sent me sythynys (*since*) I came to Oxon.

And also Master Brown had that same time much money in a bag, so that he durst not bring it with him, and that same letter was in that same bag, and he had forgotten to take out the letter, and he sent all together by London, so that it was the next day after that I was made bachelor ere then the letter came, and so the fault was not in me.

And if ye will know what day I was made bachelor, I was made on Friday was sev'nnight (18th June), and I made my feast on the Monday after (21st June). I was promised venison against my feast of my Lady Harcourt, and of another person too, but I was deceived of both; but my guests held them pleased with such meat as they had, blessed be God who have you in his keeping. Amen.

Written at Oxon, on the Wednesday next after Saint Peter.

Oxford, Wednesday,

WALTER PASTON.

30th of June, 1479. 19 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXVII.—WALTER IS DEAD AND HIS GRAND-MOTHER AGNES

SURE tidings are come to Norwich that my Grandam is deceased, whom God assoil: my uncle had a messenger yesterday that he should not escape, and this day came another at such time as we were at mass for my brother Walter, whom God assoil! My uncle was coming to have offered, but the last messenger returned him hastily, so that he took his horse incontinent (*immediately*) to inform more of our heaviness.

My sister is delivered, and the child passed to God, who send us of his grace.

Docking told me secretly that for any haste (*in all haste*) my uncle should ride by my Lady of Norfolk to have a three-score persons, whether it is to convey my Grandam hither or not he could not say; I deem it is rather to put them in possession of some of her lands.

Written the Saturday the 21st of August, in the 19th year of Edward IV.

Norwich, Saturday,

21st of August, 1479. 19 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXVIII.—SIR JOHN'S LAST LETTER

This is the last letter from Sir John Paston, who died on the 15th of November following, but whether of the sickness which he seems in this letter so much to fear, I cannot discover. He here complains of sickness of body, and seems to have likewise much uneasiness of mind. The lands at Caister, Heylesdon, &c., were a constant trouble to him from the claims of the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. [His whole life, from his coming of age, seems to have been one game of law. Even in this his last letter he boasts of his skill in checking "uncle William" in the prosecution of his suits. The passion for holding land seems to have been very intense: the Pastons submit to almost any sacrifice rather than alienate land, and "uncle William" and others seem equally ardent for its acquisition.]

To the right worshipful Mistress Margaret Paston, be this delivered.

PLEASE it you to weet that I have been here at London a fortnight, whereof the first four days I was in such fear of the sickness, and also found my chamber and stuff not so clean as I deemed, which troubled me sore; and as I told you at my departing I was not well moneyed, for I had not past ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), whereof I departed 40*s.* to be delivered of my old bedfellow; and then I rode beyond Dunstable, and there spake with one of my chief witnesses, which promised me to take labour and to get me writings touching this matter between me and the Duke of Suffolk,¹ and I rewarded him 20*s.*, and then, as I informed you, I paid five marks (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) incontinent upon my coming here to repledge out my gown of velvet and other geer; and then I hoped to have borrowed some of Townshend, and he hath ffoodyd² not forth ever since, and in effect I could have at the most and at the soonest yesterday 20*s.*; wherefore I beseech you to purvey me an 100*s.*, and also to write to Peacock that he purvey me as much, 100*s.*, which I suppose that he hath gathered at Paston, and other places by this time; for without I have this 10*l.*, as God help me, I fear I shall do but little good in no matter, nor yet I wote not how to come home but if I have it.

This geer hath troubled me so that it hath made me more than half sick, as God help me.

Item, I understand that my uncle William hath made labour of the escheator, and that he hath both a writ of essend. closeth extr. and also a supersedeas. I have written to the escheator therein of mine intent; if my uncle had his will in that, yet should

¹ John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

² *Qy. footed, i.e., set foot out of his own house; or fooded, i.e., eaten out of his own house, for fear of the sickness mentioned at the beginning of this letter?*

he be never the nearer the land, but in effect he should have this advantage, which is behoveful for a weak matter, to have a colour, or a cloak, or a buttress; but on Tuesday I was with the Bishop of Ely,¹ who showeth himself good and worshipful, and he said that he should send to mine uncle William that he should not proceed in no such matter till that he speak with him, and moreover that he should cause him to be here hastily; in which matter is no remedy as now, but if it were so that the escheator, if he be entreated to sit by mine uncle William, which percase he shall not, that if my brother John and Lomnor have knowledge of the day, and they might be there, Lomnor can give evidence enough in that matter without the book; and moreover that they see both the letter and the other note that I sent to the escheator, and with help of the escheator all might be as best is; and if my brother and Lomnor take labour herein I shall recompense their costs.

Written in haste with short advisement on the Friday next St. Simon and Jude, in the nineteenth year of Edward IV.

Let my brother John see this bill, for he knoweth more of the matter.

JOHN PASTON, *knight*.

London, Friday,
29th of October, 1479.
19 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXIX

[THIS is merely a bill of the receipts and expenses of a manor-court at Cressingham, held before John Paston, on Nov. 25, 1479; and the amount for a few sums paid on account of the sickness and burial of his brother Walter.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXX

[JOHN PASTON here writes a detailed answer to his brother's letter (ccccxviii.). He informs him that Lomnor and himself had drawn a bill, and sent it by their brother Edmund, who chanced to have another errand to that part of the country, namely, to get the goodwill of H. Spilman "towards the bargain like to be finished hastily betwixt Mistress Clippesby and him," afterwards still more detailed. John Paston goes on to relate that Edmund had found the escheator a more zealous friend than was desired. At the desire of the Bishop of Ely both parties

¹ John Morton, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

were to refrain from litigation, and this was urged by Edmund on the escheator as a reason why Sir John Paston's inquisition should not be moved in unless Wm. Paston first moved for his; "but the escheator answered him that he would find it for you, after your bill, of his own authority; and so it was found." The opinions and advice conveyed in the following extracts are very creditable to John Paston's honesty, as well as talent; he appears to have been greatly improved by marriage, and to have shaken off something of his selfishness and greediness: "But, sir, ye must remember that my Lord of Ely desired mine uncle as well as you to surcease, as I put mine uncle in knowledge, and mine uncle at the first agreed that he would make no more suit about it, in trust that ye would do the same, according to my Lord of Ely's desire; wherefore ye had need to beware that the escheator skips not from you, when he cometh to London, and certify it, ere ye speak with him. . . . Sir, your tenants at Cromer say that they know not who shall be their lord; they marvel that ye nor no man for you hath not yet been there. Also when I was with mine uncle, I had a long pystyl (*letter*) of him, that ye had sent Peacock to Paston, and commanded the tenants there that they should pay none arrearages to him but if (*unless*) they were bound to him, by obligation, for the same; mine uncle saith it was otherwise appointed before the arbitrators; they thought, he saith, that as well my master Fitzwalter as other, that he should receive that as it might be gathered; but now he saith that he weeteth well some shall run away, and some shall waste it, so that it is never like to be gathered, but lost; and so I trow it is like to be of some of the debtors, what for casualty of death and these other causes before rehearsed; wherefore me thinketh, if it were appointed before the arbitrators that he should receive them, as he saith, it were not for you to break it, or else, if he be pleyn [*full*] executor to my grandam, then also he ought to have it. I speak like a blind man, do ye as ye think (*best*), for I was at no such appointment before the arbitrators, nor I know not whether he is executor to my grandam or not, but by his saying." This is a very curious passage: so much employed as John Paston had been, it is scarcely possible to imagine that he could be wholly ignorant of so important a provision of his grandmother's will. He then proceeds with another, and, as we know, a favourite subject—a marriage, and for his brother Edmund: this was to be done by procuring the wardship of a young widow's son, and he urges Sir John to use his influence "that mine uncle Sir

George (Brown) may get to my brother Edmund of the king the wardship of John Clippesby, son and heir to John Clippesby, late of Oby, in the county of Norfolk, esquire, during the nonage of my Lord and Lady of York, though it cost four or five marks (2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) the suit; let mine uncle Sir George be clerk of the hanaper, and keep the patent, if it be granted, till he have his money, and that shall not be long to. Mine uncle Sir George may inform the king for truth that the child shall have no land during his young mother's life, and there is no man [*this means no father will marry his daughter to him*] here that will marry with him without they have some land with him, and so the gift shall not be great that the king should give him, and yet I trow he should get the mother by that mean." This lady was the widow of William Clippesby (not John, says Fenn) of Oby; she shortly after became the wife of Edmund Paston, by whom she had one son, and died in 1491. The post-script of this letter shows the nature of John Paston's pecuniary and domestic troubles. "Sir, it is told me that Nicholas Barley, the squire, hath taken an action of debt against me this term; I pray you let Wheatley or somebody speak with him, and let him weet that, if he sue me softly this term, that he shall be paid ere the next term be at an end; it is about six pounds, and in faith he should have had it ere this time and (*if*) our threshers of Swainsthorp had not died; and if I might have paid it him a year ago, as well as I trust I shall soon after Christmas, I would not for twelve pounds have broken him so many promises as I have. Also, sir, I pray you send me, by the next man that cometh from London, two pots of treacle of Genoa; they shall cost 16*d.*, for I have spent out that I had with my young wife, and my young folks, and myself; and I shall pay him that shall bring them to me, and for his carriage; I pray you let it be sped. The people dieth sore in Norwich, and specially about my house, but my wife and my women come not out; and flee farther we cannot, for at Swainsthorp, since my departing thence, they have died, and been sick nigh in every house of the town." Much sickness and mortality are recorded as having happened in England in this year. The letter is dated from Norwich, Nov. 6, 1479.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXI

[WILLIAM LOMNOR writes to John Paston an account of the death of Sir John, his brother; and of what had been done to defend his interests against the old foe, "uncle William," who was endeavouring to get possession, and was, there is little doubt from the tenor of many preceding letters, a creditor to a very considerable amount: "Your brother Edmund, on Sunday next before St. Andrew, rode to Marlingford, and before all the tenants examined one James, keeper there for William Paston, where he was the week next before Saint Andrew, and then he said that he was not at Marlingford from the Monday unto the Thursday at even, and so there was no man there but your brother's man at the time of his decease; so by that your brother died seized; and your brother Edmund bade your man keep possession to your behest, and warned the tenants to pay no man till you had spoken (*to*) them; so meseemeth that is a remitter to your old tailed title [*your original title under the entail*]: commune with your counsel. Further, at afternoon he was at Oxnead, to understand how they had done; and Perys kept your brother's possession at that time, and your uncle's man was not there, but he assigned another poor man to be there, whether that continued the possession of William Paston or not be remembered, &c. And after the decease, &c., W. Paston sent the man, that kept possession before, to enter and keep possession, which was no warrant by that appointment, for ye stand at your liberty as for any appointment or combination had before, and so men seem it were good for you to stand at large till ye hear more: if ye might have my Lord Chamberlain's good favour and lordship it were right expedient; as for my Lord of Ely, deal not with him by our advice, for he will move for treaty, and else be displeased. Your brother Edmund sent to John Wymondham, and he sent word he would be a mean of treaty, but would take no part, and as I suppose that was by Heydon's advice, for your uncle sent to me to be with him, and also the same man rode to Heydon and Wymondham, &c., the bringer of this letter can tell you, for he was with your brother Edmund at these places." Lomnor concludes by informing him that his brother Edmund "doth his diligence and part for you full well and sadly in many behalves, and hath brought my mistress your wife to Topcroft," which was her father's residence. This seems rather a singular arrangement at such a time. The letter is dated from Norwich, Saturday, Nov. 28, 1479.]

LETTER CCCCXXII.—SIR JOHN IS BURIED IN LONDON

On the back of this letter is written in an ancient hand, "a Lr'e sent from Jo Paston, ar. [*arm*] to his mother, touching the buryall of his Brother Sir John Paston in London." Sir John Paston died on the 15th of November, 1479, 19 Edward IV., aged between thirty and forty years: I should suppose nearly forty. This letter therefore was written in November, 1479.

To my right worshipful mother, Margaret Paston, at St. Peter's of Hungate [Norwich].

RIGHT worshipful mother, after all duties of humble recommendation, as lowly as I can, I beseech you of your daily blessing and prayers; and, mother, John Clement, bearer hereof, can tell you, the more pity [*it*] is if it pleased God, that my brother is buried in the White Fryers at London, which I thought should not have been; for I supposed that he would have been buried at Bromholm, and that caused me so soon to ride to London, to have purveyed his bringing home; and if it had been his will to have lain at Bromholm, I had purposed all the way as I have ridden to have brought home my grandam¹ and him together, but that purpose is void as now; but this I think to do when I come to London, to speak with my Lord Chamberlain,² and to win by his means my Lord of Ely³ if I can; and if I may, by any of their means, cause the king to take my service and my quarrel⁴ together, I will; and I think that Sir George Brown,⁵ Sir James Radcliff, and others of mine acquaintance, which wait most upon the king, and lie nightly in his chamber,⁶ will put to their good wills: this is my way as yet.

And, mother, I beseech you, as ye may get or send any messengers, to send me your advice and my cousin Lomnor's, to John Lee's house, tailor, within Ludgate.

I have much more to write, but my empty head will not let me remember it.

Also, mother, I pray that my brother Edmund may ride to Marlingford, Oxnead, Paston, Cromer, and Caister, and all

¹ Agnes, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edmund Berry, knight, and widow of Sir William Paston, knight, died in 1479.

² William Lord Hastings.

³ John Morton, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor.

⁴ This must relate to his dispute with the Duchess of Norfolk, relative to Caister, or to some disputes with his uncle, William Paston, concerning other manors and estates. [It must mean all his quarrels, his cause generally. It would be impossible to guess the *one* among his numerous disputes.]

⁵ Of Beechworth Castle, in Surrey.

⁶ These seem to have been the "esquires of the king's body," who lay in his chamber.

these manors to enter in my name; and to let the tenants of Osmend and Marlingford know that I sent no word to him to take no money of them, but their attornment; wherefore he will not till he hear from me again ask them none, but let him command them to pay to¹ servants of mine uncle, nor to himself, nor to none other to his use, in pain of payment again to me. I think if there should be any money asked in my name, peradventure it would make my Lady of Norfolk against me, and cause her to think I deal more contrary to her pleasure than did my brother, whom God pardon of his great mercy!

I have sent to enter at Stansted and at Orwellbury; and I have written a bill to Anne Montgomery and Jane Rodon, to make my Lady of Norfolk if it will be.

Your son, and humble servant,

JOHN PASTON.

November, 1479. 19 E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXXIII.—"MINE UNKIND UNCLE"

To my right worshipful and most kind mother, Margaret Paston.

RIGHT worshipful mother, after all duties of humble recommendation, as lowly as I can, I beseech you of your daily blessing and prayer.

Please it you to understand that whereas ye willed me by Paines, to haste me out of the air that I am in; it is so that I must put me in God, for here must I be for a season, and in good faith I shall never, while God sendeth me life, dread more death than shame; and thanked be God, the sickness is well ceased here, and also my business putteth away my fear. I am driven to labour in letting of (*hindering*) the execution of my unkind uncle's intent, wherein I have as yet none other discouragement, but that I trust in God he shall fail of it.

I have spoken to my Lord of Ely divers times, which hath put me in certainty by his words, that he will be with me against mine uncle, in each matter that I can show that he intendeth to wrong me in; and he would fain have a reasonable end betwixt us, whereto he will help, as he saith; and it is certain, my brother, God have his soul! had promised to abide the rule of my Lord Chamberlain and of my Lord of Ely; but I am not yet so far forth; nor not will be, till I know my Lord Chamberlain's intent, and that I purpose to do to-morrow, for then I think to be with him, with God's leave. And since it is so that God hath purveyed

¹ [This *to* should evidently be *no*, or *no* must be inserted after it.]

me to be the solicitor of this matter, I thank him of his grace for the good lords, masters, and friends that he hath sent me, which have perfectly promised me to take my cause as their own, and these friends be not a few.

And, mother, as I best can and may, I thank you and my cousin Lomnor of the good advice that ye have sent me, and I shall apply me to do thereafter; also, mother, I shall beseech you on my behalf to thank my cousin Lomnor for the kindness that he hath showed unto me in giving of his answer to mine uncle's servant, which was with him.

Mother, I write not so largely to you as I would do, for I have not most leisure; and also when I have been with my Lord Chamberlain, I purpose not to tarry long after in London, but to dress me to you wards, at which time I trust I shall bring you more certainty of all the fardel that I have in my business than I can as yet write.

I am put in certainty by my most special good master, my Master of the Rolls, that my Lord of Ely is and shall be better lord to me than he hath showed as yet, and yet hath he dealt with me right well and honourably.

Mother, I beseech you that Peacock may be sent to purvey me as much money as is possible for him to make against my coming home, for I have much to pay here in London, what for the funeral costs, debts, and legacies, that must be content in greater haste than shall be mine ease. Also I would the farm barley in Fleg, as well as at Paston, if there be any, were gathered, and if it may be reasonably sold, then to be sold, or put to the malting; but I would at Caister that it were out of the tenants' hands, for things that I hear; keep ye counsel this from Peacock and from all folks, which matter I shall appease, if God will give me leave.

JOHN PASTON.

London, December, 1479.
19 E. IV.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXIV

[THIS letter, though not subscribed, is no doubt from John Paston to some person unknown. The first part of the letter relates to his brother's tombstone, or rather effigy, as it would seem by the objection that the "man at St. Bride's is no cleanly portrayer." The remainder of the letter is occupied with directions as to the transacting of some business at Rome respecting

a bull, but the nature and cause of it is not stated. We give the passage respecting the effigy as a curious notice of the state of art in England at the time, having one artist to make the drawing, and another to carve it: "Sir, I pray you that ye will send some child to my Lord of Buckingham's place, and to the Crown, which, as I conceive, is called Gerard's Hall, in Breadstreet, to inquire whether I have any answer of my letter sent to Calais, which ye know of; and that ye will remember my brother's stone, so that it might be made ere I come again, and that it be cleanly wrought. It is told me that the man at Saint Bride's is no cleanly portrayer, therefore I would fain it might be portrayed by some other man, and he to grave it up." It has no date, but must have been written in 1479-80.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXV

[THIS curious letter is from Edmund Paston to his mother, Margaret Paston, and was probably written soon after his marriage with the widow Clippesby, as he apologises apparently for not having yet introduced her. His notion of setting off the value of a horse which died while at livery against the keep of the other horses, alleging it was put to grass and to work, reminds us of the horse causes of the present day. He writes as follows: "Right worshipful and most especial good mother, in my most humble wise, with all my duty and service, I recommend me to you, beseeching you of your blessing, which is to me most joy of earthly thing; and it please you to be so good and kind mother to me to forgive me, and also my wife, of our lewd (*rude*) offence, that we have not done our duty, which was to have seen and have waited upon you ere now. My huswife trusteth to lay to you her huswifery for her excuse, which I must beseech you not to accept, for in good faith I deem her mind hath been otherwise occupied than to huswifery, which seemeth well by the lachesness (*negligence*) of the tilth of her lands. I beseech God for the furtherance of them as now, reward you, and the good parson of Mauteby, and also Master Baily, who I weened would not have balked this poor lodging to Norwich ward.¹ I understand by the bringer hereof that ye intend to ride to Walsingham; if it please you that I may weet the season, as my duty is,

¹ [This sentence is very obscure, but we think it is intended to read thus: "I beseech God for the furtherance of them as [*from*] now," that is, the tilth of the lands from this time; "reward you, and the good parson of Mauteby, and also Master Baily," &c., i.e., and to reward you. that is, he beseeches God for all these objects.]

I shall be ready to await upon you. Please it you that the bringer hereof came to me for 10s. 8*d.* which I should owe his father; true it was at my last departing from him I owed him so much, but certainly ere I came at Thetford homewards I thought of conscience he ought to have restored me as much; I had my horses with him at livery, and, among all, one of them was put to grass and to labour, so that he died of a lax by the way; I paid for hard meat ever to him. Please it you to deliver Katharine 5*s.* which I send you in this bill. I am not ascertained how she is purveyed of money towards her journey. If her father could not have claimed one penny of me, I would not see her dis-purveyed (*unprovided*) if I might, nor the poorest child that is belonging to his lodging. Mother, my wife is bold to send you a token. I beseech you pardon all things not done according to duty. I beseech God send you the accomplishment of your most worshipful desires. At Oby, the Saturday next before Candlemas." Jan. 29, 1479-80.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXVI

[THIS is one of the few letters of William Paston, the "uncle William" who is so often complained of by the other members of the family. This letter shows that he was at least as much sinned against as sinning, for he must have inherited Harwelbury¹ from his mother, who retained it till her death, and upon which his elder brother and his descendants could scarcely have had any just claim, although they appear to have endeavoured to obtain possession of it. Then, as now, the ties of relationship had but small influence when any right, or fancied right, to property was concerned. The letter to his tenant at Harwelbury, John King, is frank and well written, and, containing no imputations upon the motives of his relatives, though asserting the justice of his own claim, by no means gives us such an impression of his character as is conveyed by the frequent accusations and complaints of his kinsfolk. He says: "John Kyng, I greet you heartily well, and I understand, as well by my friend Sir William Storar, as by Richard Browne, that as well my kinsman Sir John Paston that dead is, as my kinsman John Paston that now liveth, have been with you, and given you many great threats for that ye, according to the truth, told unto them that ye occupied my manor of Harwelbury by my lease and by my right; and furthermore I understand, notwithstanding

¹ Harwelbury, in other instances spelled Horwelbury and Orwellbury, is in the parish of Harfield, near Royston, in Hertfordshire.

the said great threats, that ye, like a full, true, hearty friend, have dealed and fastly abiden in my title, and would not retourn (*attourn*) to none of them; wherefor I heartily thank you; and furthermore to courage (*encourage*) you in your fast dealing, I show unto you that I have right both in law and in conscience, whereby I promise you on my faith to defend you and save you harmless for the occupation of the land, or anything that ye shall do in my title against him, and (*if*) it should cost me as much as the manor is worth, and also another time to do as much for you and (*if*) it lie in my power, if ye have any matter to do there as I may do for you. And also I hear say by my said friend Sir William Storar, and by Richard Browne, that ye are of such substance, and of such trust, and such favour, in the country there, that it lieth in your power to do a good turn for your friend." The letter is dated from London, Thursday, Feb. 24, 1479-80.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXVII

[THIS is another letter on wife-procuring, from Edmund Paston to his brother William. In Grose's *Local Proverbs* (given at the end of his *Provincial Glossary*) he gives the following under Norfolk: "There never was a Paston poor, a Heydon a coward, or a Cornwallis a fool." In this correspondence the Pastons certainly appear not willing to belie the proverb, and particularly by marriage. The one here proposed, however, did not take effect, and William died unmarried. The date of the letter is uncertain; it is here guessed at Jan. 13, 1480-1, but it might have been a few years later, which would reduce the seniority of the lady.

"I heartily recommend me to you; here is lately fallen a widow in Worsted, which was wife to one Bolt, a worsted-merchant, and worth a thousand pound, and gave to his wife an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) in money, stuff of household, and plate to the value of an hundred marks, and ten pounds by the year in land; she is called a fair gentlewoman. I will for your sake see her. She is right sister, of father and mother, to Harry Ingloss; I purpose to speak with him to get his good will. The gentlewoman is about thirty years, and has but two children, which shall be at the dead's charge; she was his wife but five years; if she be any better than I write for, take it in woothe [*take it in good part*]. I show the least; thus let me have knowledge of you as shortly as ye can, and when ye shall moun [*be able to*] be in this country." Written from Norwich.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXVIII

[JOHN PASTON having desired the attendance at Norwich of a certain Thomas Cryne, the latter here writes to excuse himself, as he is about to attend the courts and leets of "Master Heydon," to whom he seems to have been bailiff. He writes: "My Lord Rivers in his own person hath been at Hickling, and his counsel learned, and searched his fees for his homages, among which ye be for Begvile's pasture in Somerton, and I suppose Winter-ton, late Sir John Fastolf's. My mistress, your mother, for Mauteby's, in Waxham; wherein I beseech you provide, for I have done therein heretofore as far as I might, &c. What(*ever*) it meaneth, my lord is set sore to approvement and husbandry; his counsel hath told him he may set his fines for respite of homage at his pleasure, &c." This is a curious feature in the character of Earl Rivers; history shows him to us as a chivalrous knight, and a protector and patron of literature; here we have him as an encourager of agriculture, "set sore to approvement and husbandry" beyond the conception even of a country bailiff. The letter is dated from Thorpland, Wednesday, April 14, 1482.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXIX

[MARGERY PASTON writes from Norwich to her husband John Paston about the state of his tenantry, in consequence of having their implements seized, under legal process, in part by "uncle William." The whole letter displays, not the lawlessness, but the rude methods of legal process, at the time, and the very imperfect state of agriculture: "Right reverend and worshipful sir, in my most humble wise I recommend me unto you as lowly as I can, &c. Please you to weet, John Howes, Alexander Warden, John Tille, with the parson and the new miller of Marlingford, have gotten Thomas at Well's cart of East Todenham, farmer; and mine uncle William Paston, Harry Hervy of Melton Magna, farmer, and bailiff to my said uncle, Richard Barker's cart of the said town of Melton, late farmer, and yet is in danger (*debt*) to my said uncle; and William Smyth's cart of Brandon juxta Barnham Broom, late farmer and bailiff, and also in danger to my said uncle, on Monday and Tuesday last past carried away from Marlingford into the place at Saint Edmund's at Norwich twelve of your great planks, of the which they made six loads, bearing about the said carts bows and glaives (*bows and bills*) for fear of taking away. Sir, as for your tenants of Marlingford,

they withhold their cattle and themselves both from the court, and come not within the lordship, nor make none attournment, except Thomas Davy and John Wake, which absenting of the tenants is to them a great hurt and loss for lack of seeding their lands with their winter corn; beseeching you for God's sake to remember some remedy for them." The letter then proceeds to state that some negotiation was being carried on by Lady Calthorpe with William Paston, when he promised to abide by a proposal of his "touching the manor of Sporle," and to "write and seal as largely as any man will desire him." But Margery Paston adds, showing the feeling of suspicion entertained towards him: "At his departing from my lady he was not merry; what the cause was I wot not. My Lady Calthorpe desireth me to write to you to have end, for he intends largely to have a peace with you, as he saith; but trust him not too much, for he is not good. My mother-in-law thinketh long she hear no word from you; she is in good health, blessed be God, and all your babies also. I marvel I hear no word from you, which grieveth me full evil; I sent you a letter by (*the*) brasier's son of Norwich, whereof I hear no word." Her postscript is in her usual affectionate style: "Sir, I pray you, if ye tarry long at London, that it will please (*you*) to send for me, for I think long since I lay in your arms." Dated Nov. 2, about 1482 or 1483.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXX

[ANOTHER of the prudent and affectionate letters of Margery Paston to her husband, about the same disputes with his uncle William mentioned in the last. The Duchess of Norfolk seems to have hitherto favoured William, but to be now weary of so doing, and Margery hopes to win her to her husband's side if she be allowed to attempt it, but will not do so without his consent. From her frequent complaints of not receiving answers, her husband does not appear to have been a very punctual correspondent, at least with her, though, as we have seen, a good and ready letter-writer. "Mine own sweet heart; in my most humble wise I recommend me unto you, desiring heartily to hear of your welfare, the which I beseech Almighty God preserve and keep to his pleasure and your heart's desire. Sir, the cause of my writing to you at this time; on Friday at night last past came Alexander Wharton, John Howes, and John Fille, with two good carts well manned and horsed with them to Marlingford, and there at the manor of Marlingford, and at

the mill, loaded both carts with mestlyon (*mesling*) and wheat, and betimes on Saturday in the morning they departed from Marlingford towards Bungay, as it is said; for the said carts came from Bungay, as I suppose, by the sending of Bryon, for he goeth hastily over the sea, as it is said, and as I suppose he will have the mestlyon over with him, for the most part of the cart-loads was mestlyon, &c. Sir, on Saturday last past I spake with my cousin Gurney, and he said, if I would go to my lady of Norfolk and beseech her good Grace to be your good and gracious lady, she would so be, for he said that one word of a woman should do more than the words of twenty men, if I could rule my tongue, and speak none harm of mine uncle; and if ye command me so for to do, I trust I shall say nothing to my lady's displeasure but to your profit; for me thinketh by the words of them, and of your good farmer of Oxnead, that they will soon draw to an end, for he curseth the time that ever he came in the farm of Oxnead, for he saith that he weeteth well that he shall have a great loss, and yet he will not be aknowyn (*let it be known*) whether he hath paid or not; but when he seeth his time he will say truth. I understand by my said cousin Gurney that my lady is near weary of her part; and he saith my lady shall come on pilgrimage into this town, but he knoweth not whether afore Christmas or after; and if I would then get my Lady Calthorpe, my mother-in-law, and my mother, and myself, and come before my lady beseeching her to be your good and gracious lady, he thinketh ye shall have an end, for fain she would be rid of it with her honour saved, but yet money she would have. No more to you at this time, but I marvel sore that I have no letter from you, but I pray God preserve you, and send me good tidings from you, and speed you well in your matters. And as for me, I have gotten me another lodging fellow, the first letter of her name is Mistress Bishop; she recommendeth her to you by the same token that ye would have had a token to my Master Bryon." Written from Norwich, Sunday, November, about 1482 or 1483.]

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXXXI

[THIS letter is from John Paston to his mother Margaret, who, he has heard from his wife, is about making her will. The letter is remarkably characteristic of the man; smooth, plausible, cunning, selfish, and jealous even of the influence of his wife.

Of the manner in which the provisions of wills were fulfilled by the Pastons we have already had frequent specimens, and therefore, if he means that he must put from him all that she might bequeath orally, we may guess how well his word would have been kept. The will, however, was made, dated February 4, 1481-2, and proved December 18, 1484. After thanking his mother for her kindness to himself and his wife, he says: "It pleased you to have certain words to my wife at her departing, touching your remembrance of the shortness that ye think your days of, and also of the mind that ye have towards my brethren and sister your children, and also of your servants, wherein ye willed her to be a mean to me that I would tender and favour the same. Mother, saving your pleasure, there needeth not ambassadors nor means betwixt you and me, for there is neither wife nor other friend shall make me to do that (*that*) your commandment shall make me to do, if I may have knowledge of it; and if I have no knowledge, in good faith I am excusable both to God and you; and, well remembered, I wot well, ye ought not to have me in jealousy for one thing nor other that ye would have me to accomplish, if I overlive you; for I wot well not one man alive hath called so oft upon you as I to make your will and put each thing in certainty that ye would have done for yourself, and to your children and servants. Also at the making of your will, and at every communication that I have been at with you touching the same, I never contraried anything that ye would have done and performed, but always offered myself to be bound to the same; but, mother, I am right glad that my wife is anything (*in*) your favour or trust, but I am right sorry that my wife, or any other child or servant of yours, should be in better favour or trust with you than myself, for I will and must forbear and put from me that that all your other children, servants, priests, workmen, and friends of yours, that ye will ought bequeath to, shall take to them; and this have I and ever will be ready unto while I live, on my faith, and never thought other, so God be my help; whom I beseech to preserve you and send you so good life and long that ye may do for yourself and me after my decease; and I beshrew (*curse*) their hearts that would other, or shall cause you to mistrust or to be unkind to me or my friends." Written from Norwich, between 1482 and 1484.]

LETTER CCCXXXII.—OF A REGRETTABLE "STRANGENESS"

This letter shows the friendly disposition of the Lord Cromwell, and seems to hint his suspicions that some disagreeable circumstance might attend the strangeness alluded to if both parties did not obey his injunctions. Humphrey Bourchier, Lord Cromwell, was third son of Henry Earl of Essex; and marrying Joanna, co-heiress of Maud, sister of Ralph Lord Cromwell, had summons to parliament as Baron Cromwell in 1461, 1 E. IV. This letter therefore was written in this reign.

To my right trusty friend, John Paston, Esq.

TRUSTY and well-beloved friend, I greet you well; and forasmuch as it is done me to understand that there is a great strangeness betwixt my right trusty friend John Radcliff¹ and you, without any matter or cause of substance as I am learned, wherefore, inasmuch as I love you well both, I am not content it should so be.

Praying you heartily to forbear the said strangeness on your part to such time as I speak with you next myself, letting you weet I have written to him to do the same. And that ye fail not hereof, as I may do anything for you hereafter.

And our Lord have you in his keeping. Written at London the tenth day of February.

CROMWELL.

London, 10th of February.
E. IV.

LETTER CCCXXXIII.—FROM A ROYAL PRINCESS

The whole of this letter is written by Elizabeth, third daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Cecily, daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland. She was sister to Edward IV. and Richard III., by the latter of whom her son, John Earl of Lincoln (after the death of his own son), was declared heir to the crown. She married John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and lies buried with him in Wingfield church in Suffolk. Under the direction is written (I believe) in the hand of Sir John Paston, . . . "Littrà Ducisse Suff." If so, this letter was written in the reign of Edward IV., for Sir John died in 1479, 19 E. IV.; but if this memorandum be the handwriting of Sir John Paston's brother, then this letter might be written in the reign of Richard III., or even of Henry VII. The curiosity of this letter consists in the rank of the lady, and in being perhaps the only one extant of her writing. It shows likewise the simplicity of the times, when a princess of the blood royal, coming to London unprovided of a lodging, petitions for the use of that of a friend for a few days, in the humblest terms: "for Godys sake, say me not nay." As to exterior form, this is rather a note than a letter, being only folded, without turning in the edges of the paper. A silken twine had been passed through every fold of it, the ends

¹ John Radcliff was afterwards Lord Fitzwalter.

of which were afterwards united, and secured under the seal. The direction seems not to be in the hand of the Lady Elizabeth, but of some secretary in attendance on her. Perhaps she did not choose to trust him with the singularity of her request, but employed him only to superscribe it.

Unto John Paston, in haste.

MASTER PASTON, I pray you that it may please you to leave your lodging for three or four days, till I may be *purveyed* of another, and I shall do as much to your pleasure; for God's sake, say me not nay, and I pray you recommend me to my Lord Chamberlain.¹

Your friend,
ELIZABETH.

LETTER CCCCXXXIV.—TO A FOREIGN LADY

To Mistress Anne.

SINCE it is so that I may not as oft as I would be there, as I might do my message myself, mine own fair Mistress Anne, I pray you to accept this bill for my messenger, to recommend me to you in my most faithful wise, as he that fainest of all other desireth to know of your welfare, which I pray God increase to your most pleasure.

And, mistress, though so be that I as yet have given you but *easy (little)* cause to remember me for lack of acquitation, yet I beseech you let me not be forgotten, when ye reckon up all your servants, to be set in the number with other.

And I pray you, Mistress Anne, for that service that I owe you, that in as short time as ye goodly may that I might be ascertained of your intent, and of your best friends, in such matters as I have broken to you of; which both your and mine right trusty friends John Lee, or else my mistress his wife, promised before you and me at our first and last being together, that as soon as they or either of them knew your intent, and your friends, that they should send me word, and if they so do I trust soon after to see you.

And now farewell, mine own fair lady, and God give you good rest, for in faith I trow ye be in bed.

Written in my way homeward, on Mary Magdalen's day at midnight.

Your own,
JOHN PASTON.

Mistress Anne, I am proud that ye can read English, wherefore I pray you acquaint you with this my lewd (*uncouth*) hand, for

¹ William Lord Hastings was Lord Chamberlain to Edward IV.

my purpose is that ye shall be more acquainted with it, or else it shall be against my will; but yet and when ye have read this bill, I pray you burn it, or keep it secret to yourself, as my faithful trust is in you.

22nd of July,
St. Mary Magdalen.

LETTER CCCCXXXV.—CATALOGUE OF JOHN PASTON'S BOOKS

We are here furnished with a curious though imperfect catalogue of the library of a gentleman in the reign of Edward IV. It is written on a strip of paper about seventeen inches long, and has been rolled up, by which means one end, having been damp, is entirely decayed, so that the names of some of the books are imperfect; and the then price or value of all of them is not now to be discovered, that having been uniformly written at the end which is now destroyed. It contained an account of all the books he had, as it mentions those which were lent out at the time the catalogue was made; and though the name of the owner is gone, yet, by comparing the list with the account of William Ebesham, it fixes it to the library of John Paston. It contained only one book in print, the rest being manuscripts, and appear to have been bound together as numbered 1, 2, 3, &c., in the inventory.

The Inventory of English books, of John (Paston), made the 5th day of November, in the . . . year of the reign of Edward IV.

- 1 A BOOK had of my hostess at the George, . . . of the Death
of Arthur, beginning at Cassibelan
Guy Earl of Warwick
King Richard Cœur de Lyon
A Chronicle to Edward the III. Price
- 2 Item, a Book of Troilus, which William Br. . . . hath had
near ten years, and lent it to Dame . . . Wyngfeld, and
there I saw it . . . worth
- 3 Item, a black Book, with the Legend of Lad . . . sans Mercy.
The Parliament of Birds.
The Temple of Glass
Palatyse and Scitacus
The Meditations of . . .
The Green Knight . . . worth
- 4 Item, a Book in print of the Play of the . . .
- 5 Item, a Book lent Midelton, and therein is
Belle Dame sans Mercy.
The Parliament of Birds
Ballad of Guy and Colbrond,
. . . of the Goose, the . . .
The Disputation between Hope and Despair.
. . . Merchants.
The Life of Saint Chrystopher.

6 A red Book that Percival Robsart gave me; of the Meeds of the Mass.

The Lamentation of Child Ipotis.

A Prayer to the Vernicle, called the Abbey of the Holy Ghost.

7 Item, in quires, Tully de Senectute in whereof there is no more clear writing.

8 Item, in quires, Tully or Cypio (*Scipio*) de Amicitia, left with William Worcester . . . worth

9 Item, in quires, a Book of the Policy of In. . . .

10 Item, in quires, a Book de Sapientiâ, wherein the second person is likened to Sapience.

11 Item, a Book de Othea (*Wisdom*), text and gloss, worth in quires

Memorandum; mine old Book of Blazonings of Arms.

Item, the new Book portrayed and blazoned.

Item, a Copy of Blazonings of Arms, and the names to be found by Letter (*alphabetically*).

Item, a Book with Arms portrayed in paper.

Memorandum; my Book of Knighthood; and the manner of making of Knights; of Justs, of Tournaments; fighting in Lists; paces holden by Soldiers; and Challenges; Statutes of War; and de Regimine Principum . . . worth

Item, a Book of new Statutes from Edward the IV.

5th of November. E. IV.

LETTER CCCCXXXVI.—VERSES BY A LADY UNKNOWN

Verses written by a Lady, in the reign of Henry VI. or Edward IV., to an absent Lord with whom she was in love.

MY right good lord, most knightly gentle knight,
Unto your grace in my most humble wise
I me commend, as it is due and right,
Beseeching you at leisure to advise
Upon this bill, and pardon mine emprize,
Grounded on folly, for lack of providence,
Unto your Lordship to write without licence.

But when a man is with a fever shake,
Now hot, now cold, as falleth by adventure,
He in his mind conjecture will, and take

The highest mean to work his cure,
More patiently his painés to endure;
And right so I, so it you not displease,
Write in this wise my painés to appease.

For when I count and make a reckoning
Betwixt my life, my death, and my desire,
My life, alas! it serveth of nothing,
Since with your parting departed my pleasure;
Wishing your presence setteth me on fire,
But then your absence doth my heart so cold,
That for the pain I not me where to hold.

O out on absence, there fools have no grace,
I mean myself, nor yet no wit to gweye
Them out of pain, to come unto that place;
Where as presence may shape a remedy
For all disease, now fie on my folly,
For I despaired am of your soon meeting,
That God, I pray, me to your presence bring.

Farewell, my lord, for I may write no more,
So troubled is my heart with heaviness;
Envy also, it grieveth me most sore,
That this rude bill shall put himself in press,
To see your lordship of his presumptuousness
Ere I myself; but yet ye shall not miss
To have my heart tofore my bill I wis.

Which I commit, and all my whole service,
Into your hands, demean it as you list,
Of it, I keep to have no more franchise
Than I heartless surely me wist,
Saving only that it be as trist
And to you true as ever was heart, and plain,
Till cruel death depart it upon twain.

Adieu, disport; farewell, good company;
In all this world there is no joy I ween,
For there as whilom I see with mine eye
A lusty lord leaping upon a green;
The soil is sole, no knights there be seen,
No ladies walk there they were wont to done;
Alas! some folk departed hence too soon.

Some time also men might a wager make,
 And with their bows afield have it tried,
 Or at the paume their pleasure for to take,
 Then were they loose that now stand as tied.
 I not whereto this world may be applied;
 For all good cheer, on even and on morrow,
 Which then was made, now turneth me to sorrow.

RICHARD III.—1483 to 1485

LETTER CCCCXXXVII.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST RICHARD III.

This letter refers to the commotions excited in different parts of the kingdom by the Duke of Buckingham, who from discontent conspired against Richard. He failed in his enterprise, however, and, being deserted by his forces, fled, was treacherously betrayed, taken, and beheaded. John Lord Howard (descended from Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk) was created Duke of Norfolk in 1483, 1 R. III., and was slain at the battle of Bosworth in 1485.

*To my right well-beloved friend, John Paston, be this delivered
 in haste.*

RIGHT well-beloved friend, I commend me to you. It is so that the Kentishmen be up in the Weld, and say that they will come and rob the city, which I shall let if I may.

Therefore I pray you that with all diligence ye make you ready and come hither, and bring with you six tall fellows in harness; and ye shall not lyse (*lose*) your labour, that knoweth God, who have you in his keeping.

Written at London, the tenth day of October.

Your friend,

J. NORFOLK.

London, Friday,
 10th of October, 1483. 1 R. III.

LETTER CCCCXXXVIII.—AN ORDER TO PAY

*The Duke of Suffolk to Thomas Jeffreys, our farmer of Maundevills,
 greeting.*

WE will and straitly charge you that ye content and pay unto the bringer hereof, for money employed in our household, three pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, for such stuff as we our own person have promised, and not to be failed, upon our worship.

Of the which sum of 73s. and 4*d.* so by you contented and paid, we will and also straitly charge our auditors for the time being, by virtue of this our writing, signed with our hand, to make you due and plein allowance at your next account.

At Wingfield, the first day of May, in the first year of King Richard III.

SUFFOLK, and fail not on pain losing
of your farm.

Wingfield, Saturday,
1st of May, 1484. 1 R. III.

NUMBER CCCCXXXIX.—ADDRESS OF RICHARD III.

This address of King Richard to his people is drawn up in the most artful manner, in order to inflame the minds not only of the multitude, but of the peers, bishops, dignitaries, and great men, and to induce them to resist the attempts of the Earl of Richmond upon the crown with all their power.

*On the back of the paper in an ancient hand is written,
Kent Sheriffs.*

The copy of a Letter of King Richard III., persuading his subjects to resist Henry Tydder (Tudor), afterwards King of England, and declaring from whom the said Henry was descended.

RICHARD R.

Richard, &c., wisheth health: we command you, &c.

Forasmuch as the king our sovereign lord hath certain knowledge that Piers Bishop of Exeter,¹ Jasper Tydder² (*Tudor*) son of Owen Tydder, calling himself Earl of Pembroke, John late Earl of Oxford,³ and Sir Edward Wodevile,⁴ with other diverse his rebels and traitors, disabled and attainted by the authority of the High Court of Parliament, of whom many be known for open murderers, advowterers (*adulterers*), and extortioners, contrary to the pleasure of God, and against all truth, honour, and nature, have forsaken their natural country, taking them first to be under the obeisance of the Duke of Bretagne,⁵ and to him promised certain things, which by him

¹ Peter Courtney, Bishop of Exeter, after the miscarriage of the Duke of Buckingham's conspiracy, fled into Bretagne to the Earl of Richmond, who, after he became Henry VII., promoted this prelate to the see of Winchester in 1486, in which he died in 1492.

² Jasper Tudor de Hatfield, half-brother to Henry VI., created Duke of Bedford in 1485.

³ John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who had escaped from the castle of Hammes.

⁴ Sir Edward Wodevile, brother to the queen of Edward IV.

⁵ Francis II., the last Duke of Bretagne, was overthrown by Charles VIII., King of France, and died in 1488.

and his council were thought things too greatly unnatural and abominable for them to grant, observe, keep, and perform, and therefore the same utterly refused.

The said traitors, seeing the said duke and his council would not aid nor succour them nor follow their ways, privily departed out of his country into France, and there taking them to be under the obeisance of the king's ancient enemy, Charles,¹ calling himself King of France, and to abuse and blind the commons of this said realm, the said rebels and traitors have chosen to be their captain one Henry Tydder² (*Tudor*), son of Edmund Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, which of his ambitious and insatiable covetise encroacheth and usurpeth upon him the name and title and royal estate of this realm of England; whereunto he hath no manner interest, right, title, or colour, as every man well knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blood, both of father's side and of mother's side; for the said Owen the grandfather was bastard born, and his mother was daughter unto John Duke of Somerset, son unto John Earl of Somerset, son unto Dame Katherine Swynford, and of their indouble avoutry³ gotten; whereby it evidently appeareth that no title can nor may in him, which fully intendeth to enter this realm, proposing a conquest; and if he should achieve his false intent and purpose, every man's life, livelihood, and goods, shall be in his hands, liberty, and disposition; whereby should ensue the disheriting and destruction of all the noble and worshipful blood of this realm for ever, and to the resistance and withstanding whereof every true and natural Englishman born must lay to his hands for his own surety and weal.

And to the intent that the said Henry Tydder might the rather achieve his false intent and purpose by the aid, support, and assistance of the king's ancient enemy of France, hath covenanted and bargained with him and all the council of France, to give up and release in perpetuity all the right, title, and claim that the Kings of England have had and ought to have to the crown and realm of France, together with the duchies of Normandy, Anjou and Maine, Gascony and Guisnes Cassell,⁴ and the towns of Calais, Guisnes, Hammes, with the Marches

¹ Charles VIII. ascended the throne in 1483, and died in 1498.

² Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who, in 1483, became King of England, &c., by the title of Henry VII. He died in 1509.

³ This either means double adultery, that is adultery on both sides; or indubitable, undoubted adultery.

⁴ [Query, if this does not mean the castle of Guisnes? The original has Guyne Cascell.]

appertaining to the same, and dissever and exclude the arms of France out of the arms of England for ever.

And in more proof and showing of his said purpose of conquest, the said Henry Tydder hath given (*given*), as well to divers of the said king's enemies as to his said rebels and traitors, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other dignities spiritual; and also the duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other possessions and inheritances of knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other the king's true subjects within the realm; and intendeth also to change and subvert the laws of the same, and to induce and establish new laws and ordinances amongst the king's said subjects.

And over this, and besides the alienations of all the premises into the possession of the king's said ancient enemies, to the greatest anytishment¹ (*annihilation*), shame, and rebuke that ever might fall to this said land, the said Henry Tydder and others, the king's rebels and traitors aforesaid, have extended² at their coming, if they may be of power, to do the most cruel murders, slaughters, and robberies, and disherisons that ever were seen in any Christian realm.

For the which and other inestimable dangers to be eschewed, and to the intent that the king's said rebels, traitors, and enemies may be utterly put from their said malicious and false purpose and soon discomforted, if they enforce³ (*endeavour*) to land, the king our sovereign lord willeth, chargeth, and commandeth all and every of the natural and true subjects of this his realm to call the premises to their minds, and like good and true Englishmen to endower (*furnish*) themselves with all their powers for the defence of them, their wives, children, and goods, and hereditaments, against the said malicious purposes and conspirations, which the said ancient enemies have made with the king's said rebels and traitors for the final destruction of this land, as is aforesaid.

And our said sovereign lord, as a well-willed, diligent, and courageous prince, will put his most royal person to all labour and pain necessary in this behalf for the resistance and subduing of his said enemies, rebels, and traitors, to the most comfort, weel, and surety of all his true and faithful liege men and subjects.

And over this, our said sovereign lord willeth and commandeth all his said subjects to be ready in their most defensible array

¹ Aneantisement—"anientised" is used by Chaucer, in his tale of Melebeus, for reducing to nothing.

² [*Extended* may perhaps mean here *given out*—*made known*.]

³ Or, rather, make good their landing by force.

to do his highness service of war, when they by open proclamation or otherwise shall be commanded so to do, for resistance of the king's said rebels, traitors, and enemies. And this under peril, &c.

Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-third day of June, in the second year of our reign.

Westminster, Wednesday,
23rd of June, 1483. 2 R. III.

LETTER CCCXL.—JOHN PASTON IS SHERIFF

John Paston, Esq., was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk on the accession of Henry VII.; he most probably therefore entered upon that office at Michaelmas, 1484, 2 R. III., this letter being dated on the 20th of October.

To our trusty and well-beloved John Paston, Sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk.

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

RIGHT well-beloved, we greet you well; and forasmuch as the king our sovereign lord hath late addressed his letters of commission under his seal unto us, reciting by the same that his highness understanding certain of his rebels associate to his old enemies of Scotland, intending not only to trouble his peace, the nobles and subjects of this realm to destroy, their goods and possessions to spoil, and reward at their liberties, but also the laws of this land and holy church to subvert.

Our said most dread sovereign lord, as a Christian prince . . . ¹ his said enemies and rebels to resist, hath assigned and commanded us to do all manner . . . and others defensible able to labour, as well archers as hobbellers,² to come before us and charge them . . . armed and arrayed every man after his degree and power, to attend upon his person and upon us, to do him service, in defence as well of the church as of the said nobles and subjects of this realm, against his said enemies and rebels. We therefore will and in our said sovereign lord's name straightly charge and command you, that in all possible haste ye do this to be proclaimed: and that all manner men able to do the king service, as well knights, esquires, and gentlemen, as townships

¹ The letter is defective in those places where dots are used.

² Hoblers, or hobilers, so called from the hobbies, or diminutive horses on which they rode; or more probably from *hobilles*, the short jackets they wore. They were light horsemen, and proved of considerable service to Edward III. in his French expeditions. By the tenure of their lands they were obliged to maintain their nags, and were expected to be in readiness, when sudden invasions happened, to spread immediate intelligence of the same throughout the country.

and hundreds, as well within franchises and liberties as without, within the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk; and that they be charged to be ready at all times, upon an hour's warning, and ordered, according to the last commission afore this, to attend upon his grace and upon us to do him service, whatsoever they shall be commanded; not failing hereof, as ye will answer at your peril.

Given at Long Stratton,¹ the 20th day of October.

And furthermore that ye give credence unto our servant this bringer, as this same day we received the king's commission at four in the afternoon.

SUFFOLK, your friend.

Long Stratton, Wednesday,
20th of October, 1484. 2 R. III.

LETTER CCCCXLI.—MAIMED RITES AT CHRISTMAS

We are here acquainted with the diversions and amusements allowed in the houses of the nobility and gentry during the joyous season of Christmas. We see likewise the respect paid to the memory of the head of a family, when, at the Christmas following his death, none of the more merry or noisy disports were permitted.

To my right worshipful husband, John Paston.

RIGHT worshipful husband, I recommend me unto you: please it you to weet that I sent your eldest son to my Lady Morley,² to have knowledge what sports were used in her house in Christmas next following after the decease of my lord her husband; and she said that there were none disguisings, nor harping, nor luting, nor singing, nor none loud disports; but playing at the tables, and chess, and cards; such disports she gave her folks leave to play and none other.

Your son did his errand right well, as ye shall hear after this. I sent your younger son to the Lady Stapleton,³ and she said according to my Lady Morley's saying in that; and as she had seen used in places of worship thereas she hath been.

I pray you that ye will assure to you some man at Caister to keep your buttery, for the man that ye left with me will not take upon him to breve daily as ye commanded; he saith he hath not used to give a reckoning neither of bread nor ale till at the week's end, and he saith he wot well that he should not condeneth (*give content*), and therefore I suppose he shall not

¹ In Norfolk.

² Widow of William Lovel, Lord Morley, who died the 23rd of July, 1475.

³ Sir Miles Stapleton died in 1466.

abide, and I trow ye shall be fain to purvey another man for Symond, for ye are never the nearer a wise man for him.

I am sorry that ye shall not at home be for Christmas.

I pray you that ye will come as soon as ye may; I shall think myself half a widow, because ye shall not be at home, &c. God have you in his keeping. Written on Christmas even.

By your servant and beadwoman,

MARGERY PASTON.

Friday, 24th of December,
1484. 2 R. III.

LETTER CCCXLII.—DAME ELIZABETH BROWNE (NÉE PASTON) TO HER NEPHEW JOHN PASTON

To my right worshipful and heartily beloved nephew, John Paston, Esq.

RIGHT worshipful and my right heartily beloved nephew, I recommend me to you. And whereas you desire me to send you word whether my brother John Paston, your father, was with my father and his, whom God assoil, during his last sickness and at the time of his decease at St. Bride's or not.

Nephew, I ascertain you upon my faith and poor honour that I was 14, 15 year or 16 year old, and at St. Bride's with my father and mother when my father's last sickness took him and till he was deceased; and I dare depose before any person honourable that when my father's last sickness took him, my brother your father was in Norfolk, and he came not to London till after that my father was deceased, and that can Sir William Cooting and James Gresham record, for they both were my father's clerks at that time. And I remember and wot well that James Gresham was with my father at St. Bride's during all his sickness and at his distress, and this will I witness while I live for a truth, as knoweth God, Whom I beseech to preserve you and yours.

And, nephew, I pray you recommend (*me*) to my niece your wife, whom I would be glad to see once again in London, where this bill was written, signed with mine hand and sealed with my seal (the Thursday next before Whitsunday, the second year of King Richard the Third) (*this was scratched out*) the 23 day of September the first year of the reign of King Henry the 7th.

Your loving aunt,

ELIZABETH BROWNE.

LETTER CCCCXLIII.—HENRY OF RICHMOND HAS LANDED

Henry Earl of Richmond landed upon Saturday the 6th of August, 1485, at Milford Haven in South Wales; this letter therefore could not be written before the Friday or Saturday following (12th or 13th of August). Richard appears not to have regarded the landing of the earl as a matter of that great importance which it soon became; for, as a valiant prince, he certainly would have set forwards to meet his competitor as soon as possible; and however great his veneration might have been for the day of "the Assumption of our Lady," yet his fears of losing a crown, for the possession of which he had ventured everything, would have been still greater, and would have prompted him to break in upon the services due to our Lady. The Duke of Norfolk survived the writing of this letter only a few days, for he joined his royal master, and commanded the vanguard of his army in the field of Bosworth, where he fell on Monday the 22nd of August, valiantly fighting for his sovereign lord and benefactor.

To my well-beloved friend John Paston, be this bill delivered in haste.

WELL-BELOVED friend, I commend me to you; letting you to understand that the king's enemies be a-land, and that the king would have set forth as upon Monday, but only for our Lady-day;¹ but for certain he goeth forward as upon Tuesday, for a servant of mine brought to me the certainty.

Wherefore I pray you that ye meet with me at Bury,² for, by the grace of God, I purpose to lie at Bury as upon Tuesday night; and that ye bring with you such company of tall men as ye may goodly make at my cost and charge, besides that which ye have promised the king; and, I pray you, ordain them jackets³ of my livery, and I shall content you at your meeting with me.

Your lover,
J. NORFOLK.

Between the 8th and 15th
of August, 1485. 3 R. III.

¹ The Assumption of our Lady, 15th of August.

² Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk.

³ From this it appears that the royal army, when embodied, was clothed in jackets of the livery of the respective great lords and commanders.

LETTERS BELONGING TO THE REIGN
OF HENRY VII.

THE following letters are taken from the fifth quarto volume of Sir John Fenn's edition. They were not included in the work published by Knight in 1840, as the copyright was not then expired.

LETTER CCCXLIV.—THE COUNTESS OF SURREY TO JOHN
PASTON

To my right worshipful cousin, John Paston, Esq.

MINE right worshipful cousin, I recommend me hertily to you, thanking you of your great kindness and loving disposition towards mine lord and me at all times, which I pray God I may live to see the acquittal thereof to your pleasure, praying you of your good continuance.

Cousin, I showed you mine mind that I would have mine children to Thorpe, wherein, God yield you, it pleased you to say that I should have horse of you to help to convey them thither; but now I understand my Lord FitzWalter hath discharged mine lord's servants thence, affirming upon them that they should have had unfitting language of the King's Grace. Cousin, I trust that ye and all the gentlemen of the shire, which have had knowledge of mine lord's servants, can say that heretofore they have not been of that disposition to be lavish of their tongues, when they had more cause of boldness than they have now. I would not have thought mine Lord FitzWalter would have taken so far forth displeasure for the keeping of 10 or 12 men at Thorpe; I wot well there exceeded not 3 mess meat, good and bad. I trust, although I were a sole woman, to maintain so many at the least, whatsoever I did more.

I trusted to have found mine Lord FitzWalter better lord to me, seeing when I was with mine Lord of Oxenforth, upon mine desire and request at that time made unto him, he promised me to be good lord to mine lord and me, whereof I pray you to put him in remembrance, trusting yet by the mean of you to find him better lord to me hereafter.

I have found my Lord of Oxenford singular very good and kind lord to mine lord and me, and steadfast in his promise,

whereby he hath won my lord's service as long as he liveth, and me to be his true bedewoman term of my life; for him I dread most, and yet as hitherto I find him best. I pray you, good cousin, the rather by your mean, that I may have the continuance of his good lordship, and to mine poor power I trust to deserve it. I pray you, cousin, that this bill may recommend me to my Lady Brews and to mine cousin, your wife.

From Minster, in the Isle of Sheppey, the 3rd day of October. I pray you give credence to the bearer of this, and to Thomas Jinney, when he cometh to you.

Your faithful cousin,
E. SURREY.

3rd of October, 1485.

LETTER CCCCXLV.—MARGERY PASTON TO JOHN PASTON

To my master, John Paston, be this delivered.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful Sir, in my most humble wise I recommend me to you, desiring to hear of your welfare, the which I beseech God to preserve to his pleasure and to your heart's desire. Sir, I thank you for the venison that ye sent me; and your ship is sailed out of the haven as this day.

Sir, I send you by my brother William your stomacher of damask. As for your tippet of velvet, it is not here; Ann saith that ye put it in your casket at London.

Sir, your children be in good health, blessed be God.

Sir, I pray you send me the gold, that I spake to you of, by the next man that cometh to Norwich.

Sir, your mast that lay at Yarmouth is letten to a ship of Hull 13s. and 4d., and if there fall any hurt thereto, ye shall have a new mast therefor.

No more to you at this time, but Almighty God have you in his keeping. Written at Caister Hall, the 21st day of January, in the first year of King Harry the 7th.

By your servant,
MARGERY PASTON.

I pray God no ladies no more overcome you, that you give no longer respite in your matters.

21st of January, 1485-6.
1 H. VII.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCXLVI

[DISPUTE concerning Sir Wm. Paston's will. He had left money to the monastery at Norwich for perpetual mass, &c., 1486.]

LETTER CCCCXLVII.—EARL AND BISHOP

To the right reverend and worshipful Sir John Paston, sometime Lord of Gresham, and now Farmer thereof, as it is said.

PERYS of Leigh came to Lynn upon Christmas even in the freshest wise; and there he dined so as was; but when my Lord of Oxenford heard hereof, he, with his fellowship, and such as I and other your prisoners, came riding into Lynn, and even unto the Bishop's goal, where the said Perys dined with other of his fellowship. My Lord pulled him out of the said goal, and made to cast him upon an horse, and tied an halter by his arm, and so led him forth like himself; and even forthwith the said Bishop, the Mayor, and other their fellowship, met with my said Lord and your prisoners, and also the said Perys tied by an halter. The Bishop having these words unto my Lord, with his pillion in his hands, "My Lord, this is a prisoner, ye may know by his tippet and staff; what will you have with him?" Thereunto my Lord said, "He is my prisoner now." Whereto the Bishop said, "Where is your warrant or commission?" Thereto my Lord said, "I have warrant sufficient to me." And thus they departed, the Mayor and all the Commonalty of Lynn keeping their silence.

But when we were gone, and Perys of Leigh fast in Rising Castle, then the gates of Lynn, by the Bishop's commandment, were fast spered (*bolted*), and kept with men of arms; and then the Bishop and his squires rebuked the Mayor of Lynn, and said that he had shamed both him and his town for ever; with much other language, &c.

The Bishop should have kept his Christmas at Gaywood, but yet he comes not out of Lynn; in faith my Lord did quit (*acquit*) him as courageously as ever I wist man (*to*) do. The Bishop came to the town with sixty persons the same time, and made to spere the gates after him; but when we met, there abode not with him over twelve persons at the most, with his serjeant of arms, which serjeant was fain to lay down his mace, and so at the same gates we came in we went out, and no blood drawn, God be thanked.

If ye will anything that I may do, send me word; it shall be done to my power, &c.

Commend me to my mistress, your wife, &c.; and if ye dare jeopardy your surety of an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) I shall come and see you, and else have me excused for, &c.

From your own,

JOHN DOWBIGGYNG.

Between 1486 and 1495.
2 and 10 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCXLVIII.—A PLASTER IS ASKED FOR

To Dame Margaret Paston, at Oxnead.

MISTRESS MARGERY, I recommend me to you, and I pray you in all haste possible to send me, by the next sure messenger that ye can get, a large plaster of your Flos Unguentorum for the King's Attorney James Hobart; for all his disease is but an ache in his knee; he is the man that brought you and me together, and I had lever (*rather*) than 4*ol.* ye could with your plaster depart (*separate*) him and his pain. But when ye send me the plaster, ye must send me writing how it should be laid to and taken from his knee; and how long it should abide on his knee unremoved; and how long the plaster will last good; and whether he must lap any more cloths about the plaster to keep it warm or not; and God be with you.

Your

JOHN PASTON.

Written between 1487 and 1495.
3 and 10 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCXLIX.—A WHALE

To the right honourable Sir John Paston, Knight, be this delivered.

RIGHT reverend and honourable, after the order of all due commendation had, I recommend me unto your mastership. Sir, it is so that John Taylor of Bridgeham, Deputy in your office of the Admiralty, was with me this morning to have mine advice in this matter following, and the which is this.

There was taken against Thornham, in the King's stream, being two fathoms and an half deep upon the sea, a Whale Fish by Thornham-men labouring all night on Sunday night last

was, and so have slain it, and brought (*it*) to land; upon the which your said Deputy hath been there as yesterday and seized my Lord's part thereof, whereof the people was glad it should be so; then John a' Lowe was there, and he said to your Deputy that he would have the King's part in this wise, that the King and my Lord should part the half; Sir, the law civil saith thus, "If any fish royal be found on the sea, that is to say, Whale, Bales, Sturgeon, Porpus, or Grampus, that my Lord Admiral shall have the halverdele, &c."

I think my Lord hath the King's prerogative upon the sea, the which I remit to your discretion, &c.

Sir, by likelihood, without ye take heed and send thither some of yours, my Lord's part shall be little; it is a great fish and a royal; your Deputy showeth me it is eleven fathoms (66 *feet*) and more of length, and two fathom (12 *feet*) of bigness and deepness in the mid fish.

Sir, remember what ye have to do there, caus (*because*) not such a casualty in your time of your office, &c.

Wherefore this, by the information of your said Deputy, cause me to write unto you this simple bill, praying you to pardon me of the writing, for it was done in haste, and this bill I sent to William Brykks (*q. Briggs*), your servant, to Matlaske, by mass time, to bring it to you; and this day they purpose to break it. Do herein now as it please you, and Almighty God have you and all yours in his keeping; beseeching you that this simple bill may recommend my poor wife unto your mastership.

Written on Candlemas day, in haste, at Wells,

Your

T. GRIGGS.

Wells, Saturday,
2nd of February, 1487-8.
3 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCL.—MORE ABOUT THE WHALE

To my right worshipful master, Sir John Paston, Knight, this letter be delivered in haste.

RIGHT reverend and worshipful Sir, in the most humble wise I recommend me unto you, desiring to hear of your welfare, the which God long continue.

Sir, mine brother William recommends him unto you; and as for the letter that ye sent unto him, he hath showed mine Lord

the intent thereof, and he thinketh himself, that it is no part of his duty to have any part of the fish, or any money that should grow thereof; nevertheless, my Lord, according as your desire was in the letter, had questioned John a'Lowe of this fish, afore the coming of John Daniel, what he had done withall; and he answered, as for the nether chavil thereof he had put it in surety, and laid it in a house, because your deputy seized it to mine Lord's use, till it might be understood whether the property were in the King, or in my Lord; and so my Lord held him well content it should be so, inasmuch as the King and my Lord have commanded John a'Lowe that this foresaid chavil should be brought up to the King in all goodly haste.

Furthermore, my brother William perceived by your writing, that ye could make the remanent of the fish worth a four pound to my Lord; my Lord would ye should not trouble yourself no more withall, because he thinketh that the property is not in him. And also another, my brother William heareth say in the court, that the King and my Lord be content that the remanent of the fish be to the use of them of the country, the which ye shall hear the more certain thereof hereafter.

Also my brother William saith, that my Lord willed you that ye should send the return of the commission, as hastily as ye can, and marvels that ye have not sent it up ere this.

As towards the breaking up of the Parliament, many likelihoods there be, that it should continue no while, and these be they: my Lord the Archbishop of York, as yesterday, and mine Lord of Northumberland shall go, as on Friday, and also all such folks, as shall go into Bretaine, shall be at Portsmouth on Saturday come fortnight, and the Monday after on sea board, at which season the King intended to be there to take the musters; and as for those gentlemen that took shipping to have gone over into Bretaine upon a fortnight ago, that is to say, Sir Richard Edgecomb, the Comptroller, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir John Trobylvyle (*Tuberville*), and John Motton, serjeant porter, to be arrived again upon the coast of England, save only Sir Richard Edgecomb, who landed in Bretaine, and there was in a town called Morlaix, which anon upon his coming was besieged with the Frenchmen, and so (*he*) escaped hardly with his life; the which town the Frenchmen have gotten, and also the town called Brest; howbeit the castle holdeth, as we hear say.

And there be appointed certain captains at this season, which be Lord Brooke, Sir John Cheney, Sir John of Arundel, Sir John Becham (*Beauchamp*), Sir John Gray, mine brother

Awdley, mine uncle Sir Gilbert Debenham, and Thomas Stafford, and many other knights and esquires.

And, Sir, I thank you for the letter that ye sent me; also, Sir, I have fulfilled my pilgrimage, thanks be to God.

Also, Sir, we understand that it is enacted of every ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) of movable goods 2*od.* to the King, beside the tenth of every man's lands.

And, Sir, my brother Heydon shall send you the certain of all other things granted at this parliament, for he hath caused John Daniel to tarry all this day for his letter, because he was with the King at Westminster, so that he might not intend to write it till night.

Also, Sir, Master Calthorpe hath payed an hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) to the King. Also, Sir, I have delivered the ten pounds to Master Hawes, and received of him the obligation. Also, I have delivered the twenty marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) to Edmund Dorman, by my brother Heydon's commandment.

No more to you at this time, but God and the Holy Trinity have you in their keeping; and my sister Ann, with all the company, recommend them unto you.

Written at London the 10th day of February.

By your servant,

MARGERY PASTON.

London, Sunday,
10th of February, 1487-8.
3 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCLI.—SALVAGE

*To my right worshipful and my right well-beloved counsellor,
Sir John Paston, Knight.*

RIGHT worshipful and right well-beloved counsellor, I recommend me to you. And whereas I understand by your writing that a great ship is perished with you in those parts, and that ye have been greatly occupied about the saving of the goods of the same; and that the merchants thereof be disposed to put their wines to sale, of the which ye may buy a ton for one hundred shillings and little more. I may buy in this country for four pounds; wherefore if ye may buy there any better cheap, I pray you to purvey for me, such as ye seem (*see*) necessary.

And forasmuch as ye may not be here with me at this time, I desire and pray you to prepare and ordain yourself with as many men in harness as ye goodly may, to do the King service in my

company, at the King's charge and costs, so as ye and they may be with me at Cambridge upon Tuesday next coming; and that ye fail not hereof, as my right special trust is in you.

Written at my Castle of Hedingham, this 6th day of May.

Castle of Hedingham,
Tuesday, 6th of May, 1488.
3 H. VII.

OXENFORD.

PRÉCIS OF LETTER CCCCLII

[THE Bishop of Durham proposes to traffic in coal with Sir John, exchanging for corn, wax, wine, &c., 27th January, 1489-90.]

LETTER CCCCLIII.—GRATITUDE

HONOURABLE and well-beloved Knight, I commend me unto your Mastership, and to my Lady your wife; I thank your Mastership (*for*) that ye have done for me; I send my Lady a little piece of Rhenish wine of the best, ten gallons, and half a hundred oranges; I shall send her more against Pentecost (*Whitsuntide*), that she may have fresh; and Renold has not given me the two nobles and forty-one pence, that ye told me of, for wine; and my service by night and by day to your commandment, if your Mastership will any thing with me, I shall be at Cley.

No more than God be with you. Written upon the Tuesday after Palm Sunday.

LUMEN HARYSON,
at your commandment.

Tuesday, 6th of April,
about 1490. 5 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCLIV.—HUMOROUS

HUMBLY beseecheth your good Lordship, your daily servant and beadsman, John Paston, more caitiff than knight, that it may please you of your special grace to direct out your letters, signed with your hand and sealed with your seal, to the dreadful man James Radcliff, of Billingford, Esquire, farmer of your warren there; out of whose warren, no manner of man nor vermin dare take on him, for doubts of your said dreadful (*man*), to take or carry away any of your game there, for fear of being hanged up among other misdoers and forfeitors, as weasels, lobsters (*stoats*), polecats, basarts (*hawks*), and main curs; that

the said James shall, upon the sight of your said writing, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to your said beseecher, or to his deputy, deliverer of your said letters, at his first sight of the same, six couple of black conies or running rabbits, or some black and some white, to the said number, to store with a new ground of your said beseecher at Oxnead, more like a pinfold than a park; and your said beseecher shall daily pray to God for the preservation of your noble estate long to endure.

About 1490. 5 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCLV.—OF MARRIAGE WITH SIR J. PASTON'S
NATURAL DAUGHTER

*To the right worshipful and my right entirely well-beloved cousin
and friend, Sir John Paston, Knight.*

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto you. I write this only unto you, to advise you that I was minded that my cousin Clippesby, bearer hereof, should well have married here in these parts, wherein your niece took heavy conceit, thinking in her mind that I was not willing that my said cousin should marry with her.

At that time I knew not what love was betwixt them; but now I understand that both their minds are to marry together; whereunto, on my part, I am agreeable and well content, desiring and praying you to be the same; and to be the better friend unto them at this my prayer and instance. And what (*such*) pleasure, as I may do unto you in these parts, shall be ready, in that I may, at your desires.

And I pray you to recommend me to my cousin your niece; and Jesu preserve you.

Written at London, the first day of June.

Your own, the Prior of St. John's,
SIR JOHN KENDAL.

London, 1st of June,
between 1495 and 1500.
10 and 15 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCLVI.—CONDOLENCE AND ADVICE

To my cousin Master William Paston.

COUSIN PASTON, I recommend me unto you, and have received your letter, by the which I have understanding of the death of my cousin, your father, whose soul Jesu assoil. I will counsel

and exhort you to take it as well and as patiently as ye can, seeing that we all be mortal and born to die. And whereas ye desire to have a letter ad colligendum, after mine advice ye shall do well to be here with me at Michaelmas next coming; and at your then coming I shall be glad to do you the best comfort and help that I can, counselling that ye in the mean time do not intermeddle in any wise with the administering of any part of your father's goods, nor with the receiving of his debts, for divers causes.

The mean season look that ye be of as comfortable cheer as ye can, exhorting my lady, your mother-in-law, to be in like wise; to whom I pray you to have me recommended.

Thus fare ye heartily well. From London this 6th day of September.

Yours,

WILLIAM ELECT OF LONDON.

London, Wednesday,
6th of September, 1503.
19 H. VII.

LETTER CCCCLVII.—A GRAND OCCASION

To the right worshipful Master Robert Darcy and Master Giles Alington, being at the George in Lombard Street, be this delivered in haste.

RIGHT worshipful Masters, I recommend me unto you, certifying you that the King's Grace and the King of Castile met this day, at three of the clock, upon Elworth Green, two miles out of Windsor, and there the king received him in the goodliest manner that ever I saw, and each of them embraced (*the*) other in (*his*) arms.

To show you the King's apparel of England, thus it was, his horse of bay, trapped with needle work; a gown of purple (*purple*) velvet; a chain with a George of Diamonds, and a hood of purple velvet, which he put not off at the meeting of the said King of Castile; his hat and his bonnet he availed, and the King of Castile in case like.

And the King of Castile rode upon a sorrelled hobby, which the king gave unto him; his apparel was all black, a gown of black velvet, a black hood, a black hat, and his horse-harness of black velvet.

To show you of the King's company; my Lord Harry of Stafford rode in a gown of cloth of tissue, tucked, furred with

sables; a hat of goldsmith's work, and full of stones, diamonds and rubies, riding upon a sorrelled courser barded with a bard of goldsmith's work, with roses and dragons red; and my Lord Marquis riding upon a bald sorrelled horse, with a deep trapper full of long tassels of gold of Venice, and upon the crupper of his horse a white feather; with a coat upon his back, the body goldsmith's work, the sleeves of crimson velvet, with letters of gold.

My Lord of Kent upon a sorrelled horse, bald; the harness of Venice gold, with a deep fringe of half a yard of length. My Lord of Kent's coat was one bar of cloth of gold and another of crimson velvet, purled with a demy manche cut off by the elbow. These be the lords that bare the bruit (*were most noticed*).

Sir Hugh Vaughan upon a bay horse trapped with crimson velvet full of gilt bells, a gown of black velvet, and a chain of gold bawdrick wise (*belt wise*) worth five hundred pounds. These be the spears; Master St. John upon a black horse, with harness of cloth of gold, with tassels of plunket (*blue*) and white; a coat of plunket and white, the body of goldsmith's work, the sleeves full of spangles.

John Carr and William Parr, coats like the horses, gray of Parr, trapped with crimson velvet, with tassels of gold, and bells gilt. Carr's horse bay, with an Almayne harness of silver, an inch broad of beaten silver, both the coats of goldsmith's work the bodies, the sleeves one stripe of silver, the other gilt.

Edward Neville upon a gray horse trapped with black velvet full of small bells; his coat the one half of grain velvet, the other of white cloth of gold; these two the rutters (*casters or throwers*) of the spears, with other divers well appointed.

On the King of Castile's party, the Lord Chamberlain Chief, I cannot tell his name as yet, his apparel was sad (*dark coloured*), and so was all the residue of his company, with cloaks of sad tawny (*dark dusky yellow*) and black, guarded, some with velvet and some with sarsenet, not passing a dozen in number.

It is said there are many behind, which shall come with the Queen of Castile, which shall come upon Tuesday.

When the King rode forth to Windsor Castle, the King rode ever (*always*) upon the right hand of the King of Castile; however the King's Grace offered him to take him upon the right hand, the which he refused.

And at the alighting the King of Castile was off his horse a good space ere our King was alighted; and then the King's Grace offered to take him by the arm, and so went to the King

of Castile's chamber, which is the richestly hanged that ever I saw; seven chambers together, hanged with cloth of Arras wrought with gold as thick as could be; and as for three beds of state, no king christened can show such three.

This is as far as I can show you of this day, and when I can know more, ye shall have knowledge.

From Windsor this Saturday at five of the clock.

By yours,

WILLIAM MAKEFYR.

Windsor, Saturday,
17th of January, 1505-6.
21 H. VII.

THE END

INDICES

INDEX OF THE LETTERS

NOTE.—*There are three John Pastons, a father and two sons. In order to distinguish them, their names are given thus: John (1), John (2), John (3). John (2) was knighted in 1463, and John (3) in 1487. John (1) died in 1466.*

- ALYARD, Edmund, to Margaret Paston, CCCCXIV
 ANON., to Sir John Heveringham and others, CCLXXXV; King Henry VI, LVI; Countess of Oxford, CCCXII; John (1) Paston, LIV, CLXXXIX, CLXXXVII; John (3) Paston, CCXCV; Margaret Paston, CCI; Lord Scales, CCLXVII, CCLXVIII
 ARBLASTER, Sir James, to John Carenton, CCCXXII
 AUBRY, John, to Sir Henry Spelman, CCLXV
 BEAUCHAMP, John, to Sir Thomas Howys, CXCVIII
 BEDINGFIELD, Edmund, to (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCC
 BERNEY, John, to John (1) Paston, CLXXII, CLXXV, CLXXVI
 BERRY, Henry, to John (1) Paston, CCXXIII
 BOCKING, John, to Sir John Fastolf, CXI; John (1) Paston, CIII, CIV; William Wayte, XLIII; William Yelverton and others, CXXXIII
 BOTONER, William (*otherwise* Worcester, Wm.), to John Berney, CXXXIV; Sir John Fastolf, CIX; John (1) Paston, XL, LXIII, XC, CI, CII, CVI, CXVIII; Margaret Paston, CCLIII; ? Worcester, William, LXXXII
 BRACKLEY, Dr. John, to John (1) Paston, CXXIX, CXXX, CXLV, CXLVI; A Sermon, CXLVII
 BREWS, Elizabeth, to John (3) Paston, CCCLXXV, CCCLXXVI, CCCLXXVIII
 BREWS, Margery, to John (3) Paston, CCCLXXIX, CCCLXXX
 BREWS, Thomas, to John (3) Paston, CCCLXXXIII; Memorandum as to a dowry, CCCLXXXVI
 BROMHOLM, John, Prior of, to John (1) Paston, CLI
 BROMHOLM, Robert, Prior of, to John (1) Paston, XXIV
 BROWNE, Elizabeth, to John (3) Paston, CCCCXI, II
 BROWNE, G., to John (1) Paston, CXCIX
 BUCKINGHAM, Duke of, to Viscount Beaumont, XV
 CALLE, Richard, to John (1) Paston, XLVIII, CLIX, CLXVII, CXCI, CCXXXV; John (2) Paston, CCXVIII; Margery Paston, CCLXXIII
 CANTERBURY, Archbishop of (Thos. Bourchier), to Sir John Fastolf, XCIV; John (1) Paston, XCV
 CHAMBERLAYN, Sir Roger, to Agnes Paston, XII
 CLERE, Edmund, to John (1) Paston, LXXII
 CLERE, Elizabeth, to John (1) Paston, LXV
 CLOPTON, John, to John (1) Paston, LX
 CRANE, Alice, to Margaret Paston, XLVII
 CRANE, John, to John (1) Paston, XXVIII, LXXXI
 CROMWELL, Lord, to John (3) Paston, CCCCXXXII
 CRYNE, Thomas, to John (3) Paston, CCCCXXVIII
 R. C. V. C., to John (1) Paston, CCXIV
 DAMME, J., and Gresham, J., to John (1) Paston, XXXIV
 DAUBENEY, J., to John (1) Paston, CCXVII
 DAVERSE, Thomas, to (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXXVIII
 DAVY, John, to John (1) Paston, CCXCIV
 DENYES, Thomas, to John (1) Paston, CXVII, CLXIX; Margaret Paston, or William Paston, CLXXI
 DOLLAY, R., to John (1) Paston, LXVI
 DOWBIGGING, John, to (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCCXLVII
 DURHAM, Bishop of, to (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCCLII
 EBESHAM, William, to (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCLXIV
 EDWARD IV, King, to John (1) Paston, CCXXX; Clarence, Warwick, and York, CCXCVIII; Wm. Swan, CCCI
 FASTOLF, Sir John, to Sir Thomas Howys, XXIX, XXXII, XXXV, XLI; Duke of Norfolk, CXXVII; John (1) Paston, LXX, LXXIII, XCI, CXX, CL; Stephen Scroope, XIV
 FELBRIGGE, John, to John (1) Paston, CCXLI
 FENN, Hugh, to John (1) Paston, CXXV; (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCLVII
 FYLUNGLEY, Henry, to Sir John Fastolf, CXXI
 GLOYS, James, to John (1) Paston, CLXXVIII, CLXXXIV
 GRESHAM, James, to John (1) Paston, XXI, XXXI, XXXIII, LXXXVIII,

CLXVIII, CXCII, CCXXII; (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCCX; Margaret Paston, CCXV; William Paston, VI
 GREY, Lord, to John (1) Paston, LXVII
 GRIGGS, T., to (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCXLIX
 GYNEY, John, to Sir William Paston, VII
 HARYSON, Lumen, to (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCLIII
 HASTINGS, Lord, to (Sir) John (2) Paston and Sir John Middleton, CCXL; John (3) Paston, CCXCV
 HAUSON, Christopher, to John (1) Paston, CXLIV
 HAUTYN, John, to John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, XI
 HAWTE, James, to (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCLXXIV
 HENRY VI, to John (1) Paston, CXXXVII
 HEVENINGHAM, Sir John, to Margaret Paston, XLVI
 HOWYS, Sir Thomas, to Thos. Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, CCLX; Sir John Fastolf, XXXVIII; John (1) Paston, LXXI, CXIX, CXLIX, CXC
 HUNGERFORD and Whittingham, to Queen Margaret, CLXXXVI
 JENNEY, John, to John (1) Paston, LXXXIII, CXLIII, CLXXX
 JERNINGHAM, John, to Margaret Paston, CXVI
 KELA, Thomas, to John (1) Paston, CCCLXXXI
 KENDAL, Sir John, to (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCCLV
 LANGLEY, Abbot of, to (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXIX; John Stokes, CXLVIII
 LINCOLN, Bishop of, to John (1) Paston, LXXXVI
 LOMNER, William, to John (1) Paston, XXVII; John (3) Paston, CCCXXI
 LONDON, William, Elect of, to William Paston, CCCCLVI
 LOVELL, John, Lord, to Lord Beaumont, XCVII
 R. L., to John (3) Paston, CCCIII
 MAKEFYR, Wm., to Robert Darcy and Giles Alington, CCCCLVII
 MARCH, Earl of, to Mayors, Sheriffs, etc., in Norfolk, LXXXV
 MARTIN, J., to John (1) Paston, LXXIV
 MOLYNS, Lord, to Vicary and tenants of Lord Gresham, CXIV; Waynflete, Bp. of Winchester, CXV
 MOWTH, Friar John, to John (1) Paston, CCV
 MUNDEFORD, Elizabeth, to (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCIII
 NAUNTON, Wm., to John (1) Paston, CLV
 NORFOLK, Duchess of, to John (1) Paston, I, LXXIX; John (1) Paston and Viscount Beaumont, CXL
 NORFOLK, Duke of, to Thos. Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, CCLX;

John (1) Paston, VIII, CLXXXVIII, CCXLIII; (Sir) John (2) Paston, Notice for eviction of, from Calster, CCLXXXVI; John (3) Paston, CCCCVII, CCCXLIII; Proclamation, LXXXVII; Somerset, Duke of, Speech against, XXXVII
 NORTHWOOD, John, to Viscount Beaumont, IX

OGARD, Alice, to John (1) Paston, C
 OSBERN, John, to John (1) Paston, CXII
 OXFORD, Duke of, to John Jermyn, XXXVI; John (1) Paston, XLIV, LXXX, CXXXVI; (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXCII; (Sir) John (3) Paston, CCCCLI; Henry Spilman, etc., CCCIX; Sir Thomas Vere, CCCVIII

PAMPYNGE, John, to John (1) Paston, XXX, CCXXIV

PASTON, Agnes, to Clopton, Wm. (Marriage Articles), LXI; Edmund Paston, X; John (1) Paston, XIII, XVII, L, LVII, LIX, LXIV, CX; William Paston, II; Notes of Errands

PASTON, Clement, to John (2) Paston, CLXXXIII

PASTON, Edmund, to Margaret Paston, CCCXXV

PASTON, Edward, to John (1) Paston, CLVIII; Wm. Paston, CCCXXVII

PASTON, John (1), to Lord Grey, LXVIII; Margaret Paston, CLXXIII, CLXXIX, CXC VII

PASTON, Sir John (2), to Edmund Paston, CCCXXXIX, CCCLVIII; John (1) Paston, CXXVI, CLXXXII, CXCIV, CC, CCXIII, CLXVI; John (3) Paston, CCL, CCLXI, CCLXII, CCLXIX, CCLXXVI, CCLXXXIII, CCXCIII, CCC, CCCVI, CCCXV, CCCXVI, CCCXIX, CCCXXV, CCCXXVI, CCCXXVII, CCCXXXI, CCCXXXIII, CCCXXXIV, CCCXXXV, CCCXXXVII, CCCXXVII, CCCXXVIII, CCCXLI, CCCXLVIII, CCCXLIX, CCCL, CCCLIII, CCCLXIII, CCCLXVII, CCCLXXII, CCCLXXIII, CCCLXXXIV, CCCXC, CCCXCIII, CCCXCVI, CCCXXI; Margaret Paston, CCVIII, CCLV, CCLXXXII, CCCXI, CCCXV, CCCXVIII, CCCXLIII, CCCXLVI, CCCXLVII, CCCLII, CCCLIV, CCCLX, CCCLXIX, CCCLXXII, CCCLXXVII, CCCXCII; Writill, CCLXXIX, CCLXXX

PASTON, John (3), to Anon., CCCXXIV, CCCCLV; Sir Thomas Brews, CCCLXXXVI; Gyney, Thomas, CCCLXXXV; Lord Hastings, CCCLXVI; Anne Hawte? CCCXXXIV; Norfolk, Duke of, CCCXXX; John (1) Paston, CCXI, CCXXV, CCXXXVII; (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXX, CCLII, CCLXVI, CCLXX, CCLXXI, CCLXXII, CCLXXXVII, CCLXXXVIII, CCLXXXIX, CCXC, CCXCVI, CCXCVII, CCXCIX, CCCXX, CCCXXI,

¹ This letter is from either John (1) or John (2).

CCCXXIII, CCCXXIV, CCCXXVIII,
 CCCXXIX, CCCXXXII, CCCXLV,
 CCCLXI, CCCLXII, CCCLXIV,
 CCCLXXI, CCCLXXXV, CCCCI,
 CCCCVII, CCCXX; Margaret Pas-
 ton, CCXXXVII, CCXLVIII,
 CCLVIII, CCII, CCCIV, CCCXIII,
 CCCXIV, CCCLXVIII, CCCLXX,
 CCCLXXXII, CCXCXVII, CCCIV,
 CCCVII, CCCXXII, CCCXXIII,
 CCCXXXI, CCCXLVIII
 PASTON, Margaret, to Elizabeth Brews,
 CCCXCIV; John (1) Paston, IV, V, XX,
 XXIII, XXV, XXXIX, LI, LII, LIII,
 LVIII, LXV, LXIX, LXXV, LXXXIX,
 XCIX, CXIII, CXXIII, CXXVIII,
 CXLI, CLII, CLIII, CLVII, CLXX,
 CLXXIV, CLXXVII, CLXXIX,
 CXCVI, CCII, CCXXI, CCXXVI,
 CCXXIX, CCXXXI, CCXXXII,
 CCXXXIII, CCXXXIV, CCXXXVI,
 CCXXXVIII, CCXXXIX, CCXLIV;
 (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXXVII,
 CCLI, CCLIX, CCLXV, CCLXXVIII,
 CCLXXXI, CCLXXXIV, CCCLII,
 CCCLVII, CCCLIX, CCCXCIX, CCCX;
 John (3) Paston, CCLVI, CCXCI,
 CCCXVII, CCCLI, CCCLVI; The
 Steward, CCCLXXIV
 PASTON, Margery, to (Sir) John (2) Paston,
 CCXXVII, John (3) Paston, CCCII,
 CCCXXIX, CCCXXX, CCCXLI,
 CCCXLV, CCCCL
 PASTON, Walter, to (Sir) John (2) Paston,
 CCCXV; John (3) Paston, CCCXVI;
 Margaret Paston, CCCVIII
 PASTON, William, to John King,
 CCCXXVI; Mautby, Bailiff of,
 CCLXIII; John (1) Paston, LV, LXIX,
 CXXI, CXXV, CLXII; (Sir) John
 (2) Paston, CCCXLIV; John (3) Pas-
 ton, CCCV, CCCXII
 PAYN, J., to John (1) Paston, XXX
 PEACOCK, William, to (Sir) John (2)
 Paston, CCCCI
 PERSE, to Sir Robert Rokesby, CLXI
 PLAYTERS, Thos. to John (1) Paston,
 CXLIII, CXLIV, CCX, CCXII; (Sir)
 John (2) Paston, CLXVI
 POLE, Elizabeth de la, to John (3) Paston,
 CCCXXIII
 POYNINGS, Elizabeth, to Agnes Paston,
 CXXIV; (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXLIX
 PRYCE, William, to John (1) Paston, CLX
 PYKENHAM, William, to Margaret Pas-
 ton, CCCXIII
 PYMPE, John, to (Sir) John (2) Paston,
 CCCLXXXIX, CCCXCI

RENNYPORTH, Constance, to (Sir) John (2)
 Paston, CCCCVI
 RFPPS, Robert, to John (1) Paston, III
 RICHARD III, to his subjects, CCCXXXIX
 RUSSE, John, to John (1) Paston, CLXXI,
 CCIV, CCVI, CCVII, CCIX
 SALISBURY, Lord, to Viscount Beaumont,
 CVII
 SCALES, Lord, to John (1) Paston, LXXII,
 CV, CXXXVIII
 SOUTHWELL, Richard, to John (1) Paston,
 CXXXIX, CXLII; John (3) Paston,
 CCCLVI
 STRANGE, J., to (Sir) John (2) Paston,
 CCLIV
 SUFFOLK, Duke of, to Bailiffs, etc. of Eye,
 CCCV; Thos. Jeffreys, CCCXXXVIII;
 John (3) Paston, CCCXI; John de la
 Pole, XXVI
 B. D. M. S., to John (1) Paston, CCXLVII
 SURREY, Countess of, to John (3) Paston,
 CCCXLIV
 TAILBOYS, William, to Lord Beaumont,
 XCVIII
 TAVERSHAM, Roger, to John (1) Paston,
 CCXLV, CCXLVI
 T., to John (1) Paston, CLVI
 WARWICK, Earl of, to John (1) Paston,
 LXXVII; Sir Thomas Todenham,
 LXXVI
 WAYTE, William, to John (1) Paston,
 XLIX
 WEMINGTON, Robert, to Thomas Daniel,
 CLIV
 WHETLEY, J., to (Sir) John (2) Paston,
 CCCIX
 WILLIAMSON, Sir Robert, to Agnes Paston,
 XVIII
 WINCHESTER, Bishop of, re Sir John
 Fastolf's will, CXXXII
 WINDSOR, Henry, to Bocking, and Boloner
 (or Worcester), LXXXIV; John (1)
 Paston, XCVI, CXXII, CLXXXV
 WYKES, John, to John (1) Paston, CXCII;
 (Sir) John (2) Paston, CCXLII; Margaret
 Paston, CCXVI
 WYMONDHAM, J., to John (1) Paston,
 CCXL
 WYNGFIELD, Sir J., to John (1) Paston,
 XLV
 YELVERTON, William, to John (1) Paston,
 XVI; Sir John Fastolf, XIX
 YORK, Archbishop of, to (Sir) John (2)
 Paston, CCXCIV
 YORK, Duke of, to King Henry VI, XLII;
 John (1) Paston, LXXVIII

GENERAL INDEX

- ABERGAVENNY, LADY**, method of instituting chantries for, i. 130
Advowsons to be purchased cheaper than lands, ii. 24
Agricultural implements distrained upon, ii. 226
Alençon, Duke of, reward for the capture of, i. 98-9
Almonds to be purchased, i. 124; ii. 81
Ammunition, caution to be sparing of at Caister, ii. 77
Amour, servant to be discharged for an, i. 169-70
Appeal against John Paston for the murder of two men at the siege of Caister, ii. 78; notice of the proceedings in, ii. 94
Archers, rate of pay of, ii. 134
Arms, colours of, said to regulate colours of liveries, i. 96
Arran, character of the Earl of, ii. 116
Assize, writ of, notice of, i. 217
Assizes at East Grinstead postponed on account of the illness of the judges, i. 6
Attainder, Bill of, passed by the Parliament at Coventry, i. 156
Attleborough, action respecting the advowson of, i. 111

Bachelor of Arts, feast given on becoming, ii. 214
Baggeworth, stewardship of, disposal of the, i. 108
Banns of marriage, notice of the publishing of in church, ii. 116
Barley taken apparently for rent, ii. 24; price of, ii. 153, 197
Barnet, battle of, account of, ii. 104; noble-men killed at the, *id.*
Bartholomew fair, London, notice of, ii. 108
Basins and ewers wanting, i. 217
Bayard, William Paston's horse, notice of, ii. 37
Bedchamber and furniture, description of, i. 133
Bedfellow, notice of the term, ii. 210
Bedford, John Plantagenet, Duke of, debt due from, to Sir J. Fastolf, i. 98-9
Benefit of clergy, instance of its unjust effect, i. 237
Berney, Philip, death of, i. 63
—, John, death of, i. 190; caution as to his property, i. 191
Berwick, full of Scots, i. 177
Bever, the term noticed, i. 81
Bible, price of a, ii. 36
Bill (military weapon), cost of polishing, ii. 137

Black cloth, price of, i. 124
Boleyn, Sir Jeffrey, notice of, i. 78
—, notice of the family of, ii. 45
Bondman, adjudication respecting a, i. 230
Bonnets for men, notice of, ii. 43
Bonville, Lord, and the Earl of Devonshire, variance between, i. 95
Book of the Meeting of the Duke and of the Emperor, ii. 145
Bookbinding, charges for, ii. 40
Books, borrowed, notice respecting, ii. 146; price of a parson's library of, ii. 153; catalogue of John Paston's, ii. 232-3
Boulogne, superstition respecting, ii. 188
Bourdeaux, a staple of wine, i. 202
Bowet, Sir Nichol, appeal sued by, against Robert Offord, i. 105-6
Brackley, John, notice of, i. 138
Brandon, William, notice of the outrages of, ii. 210
Bromholm, application for timber for the repair of the priory of, i. 160; a "livery" bought in, ii. 72; tomb of the Pastons in the church of, ii. 111; tomb of Sir W. Paston at, notice respecting, ii. 203, 207; cost of desks in the choir of, ii. 208
Bruges, festivities at, on the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy, ii. 30
Brussels, truce made at, between the Duke of Burgundy and the French king, ii. 131
Burgesses, curious notice of places neglecting their right to send, to parliament, ii. 120
Burgundy, embassy from, i. 126, 206
—, Duke of, marriage of the, with Margaret, sister of Edward IV., ii. 30; splendour of the court of, ii. 31; notice of the Duke and Duchess of, ii. 127; death of the Duke of, ii. 171
Bury, assizes at, i. 241

Cade's rebellion, account of, i. 29; some proceedings connected with, i. 43
Caister, claim of the Duke of Norfolk to, asserted, i. 179-80; priests of, to be looked to, i. 189; appointment of Edward IV. for the foundation of a college at, i. 249; importance of, in time of war, ii. 25; expected attack upon, ii. 32; preparations for the defence of, ii. 34; courts to be held by the Duke of Norfolk for, ii. 52; terms proposed as to, by the Duke of Norfolk, not acceptable to Sir J. Paston, ii. 63; but any terms to be accepted rather than endanger his brother's life, ii. 64; distress of the besieged in, ii. 66; men killed at, ii. *id.*, 78; John Paston

- encouraged to defend, ii. 70; letter of the Duke of Norfolk on the surrender of, ii. 75; letters of John Paston on the same occasion, ii. *id.*, 76; state of, ii. 79; indictment of John Paston for shooting two men at, ii. 85-6; negotiations respecting, ii. 120; farther negotiations for the possession of, ii. 124; taken possession of by Sir J. Paston on the death of the Duke of Norfolk, ii. 159; cost of the decree for the restitution of, ii. 167
- Caister College, desire of Fastolf for the foundation of, i. 129; large sum required for a licence for, i. 130; further proceedings as to, i. 131; notice of proceedings respecting, ii. 23; arrangement suggested for the payment of the priest of, ii. 199
- Calais, reported siege of, i. 33; expected siege of, i. 114; sea-fight off, between the Earl of Warwick and the Spaniards, i. 126; a staple of wool, i. 202; unquiet state of, i. 223; approach of the French king to the attack of, ii. 142
- Calle, Richard, objections to the marriage of Margery Paston with, ii. 51; denied intercourse with his wife, ii. 53; endeavours to dissolve the marriage contract of, ii. 57-8; his wife turned away from her mother's house, ii. 59; divorce not to be attempted, *id.*
- Cambridge, Judge Yelverton's charge at the assizes at, i. 207; settlement of Walter Paston at the university of, ii. 169
- Candlesticks wanting, i. 217
- Canterbury, notice of a pilgrimage to, ii. 111
- Carlisle, siege of, i. 178; Queen of Scots received at, i. 226
- Carrying, cost of, ii. 146
- Cassell, notice of the burning of, ii. 195
- Chancery, attachment out of, ii. 26
- Chaplainship of Caister given to the queen's chaplain, ii. 36; value of, ii. 37
- Chapman, curious accusation against, of bribery and slander, i. 224
- Chardeqweyns as a medicine for bad air, i. 57
- Charles VII. of France, death of, i. 200
- Cherburg taken by the French, i. 33
- Cheshire, commons risen in, i. 243
- Cheve-day, notice of, i. 203
- Chevisance, notice of, i. 247 *n.*
- Childermas-day, notice of a superstition respecting, i. 180
- Christmas, festivities at, i. 168; notice of the keeping of, ii. 114; manner of keeping, ii. 240
- Church preferment, qualifications required for, ii. 211
- Clarence, Duke of, reward for the apprehension of, i. 34; joins his brother Edward IV. after his landing at Ravenspur, ii. 102; notice of the ground of dissension between the Duke of, and his brother the Duke of Gloucester, ii. 114-15
- Clerk of the kitchen, curious qualifications for, ii. 162-3
- Clocks repaired by priests, notice of, ii. 82
- Cloth, scarcity of, in Suffolk and Norfolk, i. 97
- Cloth of gold for covering a body or hearse, price of, ii. 159, 166
- Clothes, notice of the sort wanted at Eton College, ii. 211
- Cold, method of treatment for, ii. 157
- Collars of gold, act regulating the wearing of, i. 242 *n.*
- Collector of taxes, request to be relieved from the office of, ii. 128
- College, opinions as to the place of founding Sir J. Fastolf's, ii. 24
- Combat, desire of John Berney for the king's licence for a single, i. 184
- Commission of the peace, proposed changes in, i. 244; to inquire why the Norfolk gentry did not attend the king, i. 248
- Controller or searcher of Yarmouth, present promised for the obtaining the place of, i. 219
- Conversation, curious specimen of, between Sir John Paston and the Duchess of Norfolk, ii. 122-3
- Convocation of the clergy, one to be summoned, ii. 114
- Corn not to be exported, ii. 153
- Coronation of Edward IV., day of changed, i. 178
- Coroner, J. Berney falsely accused of the murder of a, i. 184
- Coroumber, siege of, i. 175
- Correspondence, caution observed in, i. 192
- Cotton Hall, account of proceedings at, i. 166
- Courts and leets, notice of, ii. 226
- Cousin, use of the term by John Paston in addressing his wife, i. 190
- Coventry, riot at, and Richard Stafford killed, i. 8; affray at, between the Duke of Somerset's men and the watchmen, i. 20; list of persons attainted by the parliament at, i. 146
- Creveker (Sir Philip), the Count of Crevecoeur of Scott's novel of *Quentin Durward*, notice of, ii. 195
- Cromer, riot at, against the Lord Scales, lord-admiral of the county, i. 139
- Cromwell, Lord, dispute of, with the Earl of Warwick as to the causers of the battle of St. Alban's, i. 90
- Crossbows and other arms required for the defence of a house, i. 123
- Dates and cinnamon to be purchased, i. 163; dates to be purchased, ii. 81; peculiar use of, ii. 200
- Daubeney, death of, in the siege of Caister, ii. 66, 71
- Daughters of gentlemen not brought up at their own homes, ii. 28, 42
- Deacon's vestment, use to be made of, ii. 134
- Debts, an insolvent's effects to be proportionally divided for the payment of, ii. 115-17
- Defamation, curious specimen of, i. 184
- Denyes, Thomas, commission to try the murderers of, i. 188
- Dereham, dispute between the vicar of

- and Master Constantine Dalby, settled, i. 248
- Devices for the neck, notice of, i. 56
- Devonshire, Earl of, and Lord Bonville, variance between, i. 95
- , landing of the Courtneys in, ii. 91
- Dinner, curious example of the mayor of Norwich sending his own dinner to the person he was visiting, i. 255
- party of John Paston, ii. 50
- Disseisin, notice of the law as to, ii. 65-6
- Distrainments, account of several, ii. 226
- Distress, illegal, notice of, ii. 28
- Distresses, tumultuous manner in which they were made, i. 191
- Doublets, worsted required for, i. 212
- Douglas, James, Earl of, notice of, i. 226 n.
- Drayton, presentation to the living of, disputed, i. 153; presentation to the living of, requested, i. 205; distraint at, i. 256
- Durham, Edward IV. arrives at, i. 235
- Dwarf, notice of a Turkish, ii. 83
- East Lexham, the manor of, how recovered from a purchaser, i. 217-18
- Easterlings, notice of a naval engagement with the, ii. 136
- Ebersham, or Ebesham, W., the transcriber, notice of, ii. 27 n.; bill of, for transcribing and writing, ii. 39-40
- Education, severities practised in, i. 70; of young women, notice of, ii. 28
- Edward IV., entry of into London, ii. 26; reported dissensions in the family of, ii. 27; progress of through Norfolk, ii. 48; declaration of, as to not interfering with law proceedings, ii. 50; letters of credence from, ii. 88
- Prince, son of Henry VI., varying accounts of the murder of, ii. 103
- Election intrigues, notice of, ii. 97; feast at Norwich, cost of a, ii. 119
- Elizabeth, afterwards queen of Henry VII., birth of, ii. 21
- Embracery, request of the assistance of the Duke of Norfolk for the punishment of, i. 136
- England, great sickness in the towns of, ii. 109
- Enigmatical letter, i. 215
- Eton College, notice respecting, ii. 201-2
- Exchequer tally, notice of, i. 98 n.
- Exeter, Duke of, claims Sir J. Fastolf's place in Southwark, i. 143
- Exigent, writ of, notice of, i. 106
- Fastolf, Sir John, letter of thanks for "rightful favours" in a lawsuit, i. 12; oath of, i. 28; J. Payn urged to accuse him of treason, i. 29, 43 n.; announcement of his intention to reside at Caister, i. 61; spirited behaviour of, i. 80; declaration of costs of, due to him from the king, i. 100-4; character of, i. 106-7; accounts, ill state of, i. 112-13; auditors proposed, i. 113; losses by merchandising, i. 114; law-business of, i. 135; death and biographical notice of, i. 140-2; disposition of the goods of, i. 143; advice of the Bishop of Winchester concerning his goods, i. 144; burial of, *id.*; *Book of the Valiant Acts of, in France*, i. 208; commission appointed to inquire into the disputes respecting the estates of, i. 221; testimony of Friar Mowght as to his will, ii. 47
- Fastolf, Thomas, marriage of, with one of J. Paston's daughters, proposed, i. 77; application of his mother respecting the wardship of, ii. 9; expected attack of upon Caister, ii. 32
- Feedmen, notice of, i. 203; summoned to await on the king, i. 239
- Felbrigg, Lady, differences between, and John Paston, i. 42
- Felbrigg, Sir John, brutal behaviour of, to a lady in making a distress on some disputed premises, ii. 9; offers J. Paston one hundred marks for his assistance, ii. 10
- Female education, notice respecting, i. 48
- Fieri facias*, process under a writ of, i. 228-9
- Fines, notice of the levying of, ii. 87-8
- Fleet, assembling of a, to assist Henry VI., i. 202
- Fleet Prison, letter from a prisoner in, complaining of oppression, i. 59-60; imprisonment of John Paston in, ii. 7; delivered from, *id.*
- Flemings, destruction of, at Waxham, i. 4
- Flowerdew, rector of Drayton, process recommended for depriving him of the rectory, i. 258
- Forgeries, notices of some, i. 35
- Fortune-teller, or prophet, notice of a, ii. 128
- France: king of, pilgrimage of, to Spain, i. 202; anticipated invasion from, ii. 92; notice of the wars in, ii. 194
- French, appearance of the, on the coast of Norfolk, i. 120; and poetry, instruction taken in, i. 131; king, embassy to, i. 199; MS. books, inquiry respecting, ii. 27; King, and King of France, careful distinction in the use of the titles, ii. 31 n.; embassy, notice respecting, ii. 148
- Frieze to be purchased, i. 124
- Funeral charges, exceptions to, ii. 117
- Geane, a medicated treacle, notice of, ii. 17; merchant's marks on, *id.*
- Gloucester, Duke of, ground of dissension between him and his brother Clarence, ii. 114; and Clarence, contentions between the Dukes of, ii. 130
- Gloys, priest and confessor, quarrel of, with John Paston, ii. 117
- Goshawk, earnest desire for one, ii. 122
- Gown, cost of, *temp.* Henry VII., i. 2
- Gowns, men's, notice of, i. 117; notice of the materials for, ii. 197
- Granson, account of the battle of, ii. 165 n.
- Grave-cloth, notice of, ii. 163
- Green, Dr., prophecy of, i. 94
- Green ginger of almonds, i. 7
- wax, notice of, ii. 81

- Greenwich, the residence of the court, 1454, i. 80 n.
- Gresham, disputes with the Lord Molyns as to the manor of, i. 32
- Grey, Lord, proposal of marriage from, i. 73
- Grocer who sells hawks, notice of, ii. 121
- Guisnes, notice of the defence of, ii. 189
- Gurney, Thomas, "a clerk convict" of murder, escapes by claiming benefit of clergy, and his man is hanged, i. 237
- Hale, forcible entry upon the manor of, i. 169
- Hammes, siege of the castle of, i. 200
- Harcourt, Sir Robert, and two others, indicted for killing Richard Stafford at Coventry, i. 8
- Harfleur, capture of, i. 3
- Harness, articles of, action against W. Dylmyn for non-delivery of, i. 244
- Hats, notice of, ii. 43; price of, ii. 158 n.
- Haubergeon, notice of, i. 72 n.
- Hauteyn, John, petition of, for counsel to be appointed him against Agnes Paston for the recovery of the manor of Oxnead, i. 10
- Hawk, worthlessness of the one sent to J. Paston, ii. 126
- Hawks, different sorts of, noticed, ii. 121 n.
- Hemnale's Hall, forcible entry upon, account of, i. 209-10
- Henry VI., borrowing money for his Christmas expenses, i. 46; offers to, of foreign alliances to assist in the French wars, *id.*; account of the recovery of, i. 79; movements of, after the battle of St. Alban's, i. 87; reported sickness of, i. 96 n.; movements of, i. 115; and Queen Margaret, flight of, into Scotland, i. 173
- VII., notice of the landing of, ii. 242
- Herrings, price of, i. 81
- Heveningham, Sir John, captain of the Duke of Norfolk's forces against Caister, ii. 60; proposals of, for an accommodation of differences, *id.*
- Heylesdon, forcible entry of the Duke of Suffolk upon, ii. 1; determined resistance of Margaret Paston against, *id.*; Duke of Suffolk supposed not to know of the violence of his agents, ii. 4; destruction of the place and church at, by the Duke of Suffolk's men, ii. 6
- Hickling, Fastolf's dispute with the prior of, i. 44
- Highways, reported insecurity of travelling on, i. 97
- Hoblers, notice of, ii. 239 n.
- Hogan, a pretended prophet, notice of, ii. 129, 135
- Horse, one wanted for Edmund Paston, i. 223; directions for the purchase of a, ii. 95; price of a, ii. 116, 194; desirable qualities of a, ii. 181-2
- harness, price to be paid for, ii. 82
- Horses bought at St. Faith's fair, near Norwich, i. 254
- Hosier's at Blackfriars, commission for articles from, ii. 5
- House in St. Lawrence parish to be had cheap, i. 169
- Household stuff, notice of, i. 65
- Households of the nobility, notice of the officers in, i. 151
- Houses, wooden, application for leave to remove one, i. 47; in Norwich, rent of one, i. 64
- Howard, quarrel with J. Paston, i. 196
- Illuminations in MSS., charges for, ii. 40
- "Inceptor," meaning of word, ii. 213
- Indictment of John Paston and others for shooting two men at Caister, ii. 85-6; of Pampyng and Broom for the same, ii. 87
- Inglos, death of Sir Harry, i. 43
- Intercourse, limited means of, ii. 108
- Interest, notice as to the rate of, ii. 138-9
- Invasion threatened in favour of Henry VI. with 120,000 men, i. 205
- Jack, or jacket, notice of, i. 72 n.
- Jerusalem, A Chronicle of*, i. 208
- Juries, conversation respecting the influencing of, i. 121-2
- Jury, application of the Earl of Oxford to J. Paston to secure a fair jury in an action for debt, i. 47
- Justice, regular procedure of, i. 116
- Justs at Bruges, description of, ii. 30
- Kent, indictments of John Paston, Earl of Oxford, and others in, i. 110
- Kentishmen, reported rising of, ii. 235
- Knighthood, pledge of, in borrowing money, i. 82
- Knights of the shire, influence used for the election of, i. 85; proceedings for the election of, i. 89
- Lancashire, commons risen in, i. 243
- Land, rent of twenty acres of, i. 45; terms of renting, i. 51
- Landed property, value of, i. 34
- Lands, terms for the letting of, ii. 138-9
- Langley, abbey of, claims of rents due to, i. 233-4
- Latin verses, specimen of, ii. 100
- Law, asserted assembly of persons to overawe at proceedings at, i. 39-40; proceedings suspended by a letter from the king, i. 149
- Leases, value attached to, i. 51
- Letter, curious caution to observe whether it had been broken open before being delivered, ii. 99, 122
- Licence for a chapel, notice respecting, ii. 126
- Little Snoring, purchase of, by the Earl of Warwick, i. 83
- Liveried retainers, number of Sir John Paston's, ii. 56; of the Duke of Norfolk's, ii. 57
- Liveries, cloth required for, i. 97
- Livery of lands, attendance required for, i. 202
- of the Pastons, murrey and tawny,

- i. 232; colours of the Duke of Norfolk's, ii. 57
 Lombards, two, hanged at London for rioting, i. 115
 London, riot in, i. 115; notice of sickness in, ii. 215
 — Bridge, battle at, during Cade's rebellion, i. 31; head of Thomas Fauconbridge set upon, ii. 112
 — physicians, caution against taking medicines from, i. 249
 Love verses by a lady, *temp.* Henry VI. or Edward IV., ii. 233
 Lovel, Lord, notice of, ii. 12
 Lyston, John, singular case of outlawry of, i. 3
 Lyttelton, Thomas, afterwards the famous judge, asked for as counsel by John Hauteyn, i. 11
 Maintenance, notice of the law term, i. 145 n.
 Majesty, royal, first use of the term, i. 62
 Maldon, curious election proceedings at, ii. 118
 Malt, price of, ii. 153, 155
 March, unseasonable weather in, ii. 177
 Margaret, Queen, list of persons in Scotland with, i. 201
 — Tudor, Duchess of Richmond, notice of, i. 21
 Marriage articles between Elizabeth Paston and John Clopton, i. 67; portion, arrangement for board and lodging instead of, ii. 175; negotiations as to the amount of, ii. 177 *et seq.*
 Mary of Burgundy, marriage of, to the Emperor Maximilian, ii. 195 n.
 Mauteby, Margaret, afterwards wife of John Paston, introduction of, i. 2; new gown wanted for, *id.*
 Men sent for the defence of Caister, ii. 34; to be treated courteously, ii. 35
 Mestlyon and wheat distrained upon, ii. 227-8
 Mill and lands, rent of, i. 254
 Millefoil-water, notice of, ii. 170
 Mint-water, notice of, ii. 170
 Money and corn for victualling a barge at Yarmouth, method of raising, i. 170-1; caution observed in transmitting, ii. 37; large sums of, reported to be sent to the Earl of Oxford, ii. 133; rusty, notice respecting, ii. 152
 Monk, anecdote of a young, ii. 99
 Montagu, death of the Marquis of, ii. 104
 "Month's Mind," notice of, i. 144
 Monumental effigies, notice respecting, ii. 223
 Morley, Lady, claim of, on John Paston, i. 17-18
 Morton, Bishop of Ely, notice of, ii. 131
 Muskbail, notice of, ii. 149
 Mustyrddevyllers, notice of the term, ii. 197
 Neckerchiefs, notice of, ii. 42
 Necklaces, notice of, i. 56 n.
 Newman's Place, Norwich, rent of, i. 64
 News, difficulties in believing in, i. 150
 Noblemen's council, description of, ii. 119-20
 Nonsense verses, early specimen of, at Eton School, ii. 202
 Norfolk, speech of John Mowbray, Duke of, i. 37-9
 —, proclamation of the Duke of, i. 93-4; Duke of, intends to keep his Christmas in Wales, i. 226; Duke of, summons from to J. Paston to attend at Framlingham as counsel, ii. 12; Duke of, negotiation of the, for the purchase of Caister, ii. 34; christening of the daughter of the Duke of, ii. 90; death of the Duke of, ii. 159
 —, Katharine, Duchess of, notice of, i. 1; desires John Paston to have his house prepared for her, i. 1
 —, notice of an election for member of parliament for, i. 155; state of the county of, i. 164, 177; election for the county of, i. 171, ii. 119; riots feared in, i. 177-8; letter from the king concerning the elections for, i. 237
 — thread, notice of, as an article of dress, i. 50
 North of England, risings in the, ii. 91
 Northumberland, siege of three castles in, i. 234
 Norwich, election riot at, i. 50; sickness at, i. 55; arrival of Queen Margaret in, i. 56; preparations for receiving the queen at, ii. 56; notice of sickness in, ii. 218; Sir Wm. Paston's bequest to monastery at, ii. 245
 Nuys, siege of, ii. 150
 Oats, price of, ii. 153, 155
 Ode's (John) inheritance, letter of the Bishop of Lincoln respecting, i. 93
 Offices of state, promotions to, i. 127
 Oil, use of in salads, ii. 20
 Oranges, notice of, ii. 83
 Orleans, release of the Duke of, i. 2, 3
 Ouch, with diamond, notice of, ii. 42
 Ovid's poems, notice of, i. 247
 Oxford, preparations of the Earl of, against the landing of Edward IV., ii. 101; escapes the treachery of his chaplain, ii. 105; attempt of, to escape from Hammes Castle, ii. 210
 — University, expenses of residence at, ii. 204-5; notice as to taking of degrees in, ii. 212; by any of the royal family, ii. 213
 Oxnead, manor of, recovered by John Hauteyn, i. 10; and released again, *id.*
 Oyer and terminer, partial proceedings at a session of, i. 39-40
 Paper, scarcity of, i. 183
 Pardon, J. Paston's not to be obtained without much money, i. 223; notice of, ii. 107
 Parliament, proceedings of, against the Duke of Somerset and others, for causing the battle of St. Alban's, i. 91
 Partrick, John, vicar of Paston, dispute with, i. 9

- Passage-boats between Dover and Calais taken by the French, ii. 130
 Paston, a man captured by the enemy from the sea-shore at, i. 119
 —, timber required for repairs at, i. 10
 —, Agnes, severe treatment of her daughter by, i. 70; death of, ii. 214
 —, Elizabeth, proposals for the marriage of with Sir William Oldhall, i. 65; proposals for the marriage of with John Clopton, i. 66; Scroope proposed as a husband for, i. 69
 —, J., Billing's character of, i. 61; struck with a dagger by one of Howard's men, i. 196
 —, Sir John, death of, ii. 219
 —, Walter, death of, ii. 214
 Pecquigni, notice of the peace of, ii. 157
 Pedigree of the Paston family, i. xvi-xvii
 Perse, notice of the imprisonment of, i. 171-2; doubt as to the nature of the offence for which he was in prison, i. 255
 Pestilence in London, notice of, i. 75; at Norwich, notice of, i. 153
 Petition to the Duke of Norfolk respecting Caister, ii. 127
 Pewter vessels wanted, i. 217
 Physician sent for to Cambridge from Norfolk, i. 216
 Pie, or magpie, worthlessness of a speaking, ii. 125-6
 Pilgrims captured by the enemy on the sea-shore of Norfolk, but released again, i. 119; use of in conveying letters, etc., ii. 109
 Pirate taken, and to be executed, ii. 143
 Plasters medicinally used, ii. 246
 Poetry and French, instruction taken in, i. 131
 Points and silk laces to be brought from London, ii. 51
 Pole, Lady, money due to for the board of Elizabeth Paston, i. 134
 Political agitation, directions for exciting in Norfolk, i. 52-3; sermon, notice of a, i. 139
 Poynings, Elizabeth (late Paston), request of for the remainder of her marriage portion, i. 134
 Poynings' Laws, notice of, ii. 18
 Presents to ladies, suggestions as to what are acceptable, ii. 120
 Prison, expense of weekly board in, i. 258
 Prisot, Judge, reproof of by Judge Yelverton, i. 40
 Private chapel at Mawteby, licence requested for, ii. 152, 154
 Privy Seal, notice of a letter under the, for raising troops, i. 137
 Proclamation of the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury, i. 92; of Edward IV., i. 221; of King Richard III., ii. 236; of Duke of Suffolk, ii. 239
 Protection granted to Todenham, Heydon, and others, i. 92
 Proverbs, i. 204
 Puke gowns, notice respecting, ii. 161
 Purveyance for winter, i. 211
 Radford, Nicholas, murder of, i. 95-6
 Ravenspur, notice of the landing of Edward IV. at, ii. 102
 Ray-gown, notice of, ii. 79
 Records of cities asserted to be eligible for members of parliament, i. 53
 Replevin, writs of, notice of, i. 257
 Rhyming letter, specimens of, ii. 173, 184
 Right of way, dispute as to, i. 14-15
 Rising Castle, gathering of suspicious people at, i. 177
 Rivers, Lord, rude language used towards, and Sir Anthony Widville, by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, i. 147-8; robbed of his jewels and plate in Italy, ii. 164-5; notice of him as an agricultural improver, ii. 226
 Robberies on the road to London, reports of, i. 97
 Rome, extortion as to the expenses of some proceedings at, ii. 139
 Royal household, economy of, i. 196-7
 Sacrament, licence desired for administering in a private chapel, ii. 152, 154
 St. Alban's, notice of the first battle of, i. 86; number of men killed at, *id.*
 St. Augustine, Canterbury, misfortunes of the monastery of, i. 240
 St. Leonard, priory of, pilgrimage to, i. 5
 St. Omers, notice of the siege of, ii. 194
 Salet, notice of, i. 72 *n.*
 Salisbury, sickness of the Earl of, i. 118
 Salt, price of a wey of, i. 45
 Salvage from a ship, ii. 249
 Sanctuaries, notice of, ii. 110 *n.*
 Sanctuary, expensive residence in the, ii. 38; queen of Edward IV. and others in, ii. 93
 Sandwich, Lord Rivers and Sir Anthony Widville taken at, and carried to Calais, i. 147; King Edward IV. coming to, to remedy some dissensions at, ii. 13
 Saxthorp, curious mode of preventing the holding of a court at, ii. 80
 Scales, Lord, letter from, complaining of the impounding of some beasts, i. 68; and offer of arbitrament as to matters in dispute, *id.*; imputed cowardice of, i. 223
 Scotch and Welsh, unquiet state of the, i. 223-4
 Scotland, embassy from, i. 200; embassy to, i. 225; truce concluded with, i. 232
 Scots defeated at Carlisle, i. 178
 Scrutiny for the election of a member for the county, recommended by John Paston, i. 185
 Sea-fight between the Spaniards and the Earl of Warwick, i. 126; reported, i. 222
 Seal, price of a, ii. 41
 Sermon preached at Norwich on Whitsunday, *temp.* Henry VI., i. 157-9
 Sexton, or sacrist, office of, i. 252 *n.*
 Sheep driven from Heylesdon to Causton to avoid the Duke of Suffolk's seizure, ii. 2
 Sheriff of Norfolk, bribe offered to for his influence, but refused, i. 121

- Sheriff, William, violent proceedings of Lord Welles and others against, i. 109
 Sheriff's silver, notice of, i. 54
 — return, proceedings on a false one, ii. 160
 Ships, different sorts of, i. 126
Siege of Thebes, notice of the book of the, ii. 117
 Signet, importance of, i. 163
 Silk, application for, i. 64
 Sleeping-time, notice of, i. 107
 Snoring, parson of, put in the stocks, i. 186; accused of being concerned in the murder of Denyes, i. 188
 Soldiers, extortion of money by disbanded, i. 187
 —, livery of, i. 215
 Somerset, Duke of, in prison, i. 61; return of the, from France to Scotland, to join Queen Margaret, i. 202; sues for grace, i. 221
 Spices, inquiry as to the prices of, ii. 113
 Spiritual order, notice of John Paston belonging to a, i. 167-8
 Spoons, notice of, i. 117
 Stafford, Richard, killed at Coventry by Sir Robert Harcourt, i. 8
 —, Humphrey, Earl of, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, notice of, i. 13 n.
 Stamford, movements after the battle of, ii. 84-5
 Steel-bows, inquiry for a workman to repair, ii. 52
 Stratford, parson of, behaviour of, i. 35
 Suffolk, Duke of, articles of impeachment against, i. 20-1; advice of to his son, i. 23-4; account of the death of, i. 25-6, 27
 —, Lady, application of for the appointment of the sheriff of Norfolk, i. 156
 Suffolk and Norfolk, discontents in, i. 36; alleged partiality of the sheriff of, *id.*; rumoured rising in, ii. 133
 Sugar to be purchased, i. 124; etc., commission to purchase five shillings' worth, ii. 113
 Sugar-loaf wanted, i. 183; etc., money sent for the purchase of, ii. 81
 Supper at Framlingham, cost of, ii. 120
 Swainsthorp, tenure of by *petit serjeanty*, i. 22
 Syrup, Master Roger's, notice of, ii. 81
 Tailboys, application to Lord Beaumont for force to resist the violent proceedings of Lord Welles against his servant, i. 109-10
 Taverham, R., offers his estate for his life to J. Paston, ii. 14; ascertains his father's death, and begs Paston's assistance in getting possession of his patrimony, ii. 15-16
 Temple, offices accepted by lawyers in the, as excuses for not residing with their wives, i. 46
Temple of Glass, notice of the poem so called, ii. 115
 Testimonial of the commons of Norfolk, to be sent to the king, i. 183
 Thames, forty sail of ships stopped in the, to convey men to Calais, i. 222
 Thetford, large session expected at, i. 58; sessions at, i. 206: assizes at, *id.*
 Tiles, notice respecting the scarcity of in Norfolk, ii. 164
 Tippetts of worsted, price of, i. 212
 Todenham, Sir Thomas, notice of, i. 82; inquiries after certain obligations of to the convent of Norwich, i. 220
 Token, instance of the custom of using, ii. 90-1; notice of the custom of using a token as a security, ii. 106
 Tokens used as a security in depositing articles, i. 115
 Tombstone for Sir John Paston, notice respecting, ii. 222-3
 Tourney at Eltham, notice of the, ii. 47
 Towton, notice of the battle of, i. 172; list of persons slain at, i. 174
 Transcription, charges for, ii. 38-40
 Treacle used as a medicine, i. 42
 — of Genoa, price of, ii. 218
 Treasons, bill of, presented to parliament against the Bishop of Norwich and others, i. 189-90
 Truce at Caister, notice of, ii. 61
 Trunch, corn at, taken for rent to Gimmingham, i. 9
 Tumults, anticipation of, ii. 130
 Tunstall, Sir Richard, and Byllingham beheaded, i. 227
 —, Sir William, taken prisoner in Bamborough Castle, i. 226
 Turkish dwarf, notice of a, ii. 83
Unguentum album, notice of, i. 169
 Valentines, custom of choosing, ii. 172-3
 Venison, present of, from the Earl of Oxford to Sir J. Fastolf, i. 128
 Verses, specimen of, i. 213
 Victualling and command of ships, conversation respecting the, i. 230-3
 WAGES to soldiers, order for payment of, ii. 96
 Wales yielded to the king, i. 199
 —, state of affairs in, i. 243
 Walsingham, pilgrimage to our Lady of, i. 5, 13-14; pilgrimage of the Duke of Norfolk to, i. 130; pilgrimage of Edward IV. and his queen to, ii. 55; pilgrimage of the Duchess of Norfolk to, ii. 95; pilgrimage of the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk to, ii. 108; pilgrimage of the Duke of Buckingham to, ii. 209
 Ward, strange treatment of a, i. 72
 Wardship of a minor, sum named for procuring of the, ii. 217-18
 Warlike stuffs, caution to be sparing of at Caister, ii. 71
 Warwick, Earl of, means used by, to raise money, i. 82; dispute of the, with Lord Cromwell as to the causers of the battle of St. Alban's, i. 90; and his party, prayer for, i. 156; departure of, for Scotland, with 20,000 men, i. 226; re-

- ceives in embassy the Queen of Scots, i. 232; death of, ii. 104
 Wax-lights at a funeral, high charge for, ii. 117
 Welles, Lord, violent proceedings of against a servant of William Tailboys, i. 109
 Wenyngham, Robert, his account of a naval engagement, i. 165
 Whale taken at Thornham, ii. 246-7; vested rights in, ii. 248
 Wheat, price of, ii. 153, 155
 Wight, a fleet of captured ships brought into the Isle of, i. 166
 Will, caution necessary in administering to a, ii. 22; long interval before the administration to a, ii. 79; suggestions to Margaret Paston as to her will, ii. 228
 Williamson, Sir Robert, complaint of at being sued for the rescue of a person arrested during mass, i. 15-16
 Wiltshire, Earl of, taken prisoner, i. 175; execution of, i. 176
 —, insurrection in, i. 33
 Wine, large provision to be made against the king's progress through Norfolk, ii. 143
 Wingfield, Sir Robert, contrivance of, to avoid paying a legal debt, i. 3
 Wingfield church, monuments at, to the De la Poles, i. 26 n.
 Winterton, account of a wreck at, ii. 196
 Witnesses, characters of two, ii. 23
 Wood and hay cheapest in July, i. 182
 —, estimated value of, ii. 116
 — sales, frequency of in Norfolk, ii. 113
 Wooings of J. Paston—to Elizabeth Eberton, ii. 144; widow at Blackfriars, ii. 145; Lady Walgrave, ii. 147, 149; Stocton's daughter, ii. 147; Mistress Fitzwalter, ii. 166-7; Anonymous, ii. 168; Margery Brews, ii. 170 *et seq.*; Mistress Burley, ii. 178
 Wool, price of, i. 254
 Worcester, Tiptoft, Earl of, to be executed, ii. 93
 —, William, complaint of the smallness of his wages, i. 128
 Worsted in Norfolk, notice of, i. 212 n.
 Wreck, right of, notice of a claim of, ii. 196
 Writing-box of cypress, notice of, ii. 145
 Writings, caution respecting the preservation of, ii. 22, 107
 Wymondham, J., invitation of to Margaret Paston to reside with him on account of sickness in her house, ii. 9
 Yarmouth and Cromer, insecurity of, i. 22
 — to be provided against a hostile attack, i. 121
 Year-day, notice of, ii. 28-9
 Yelverton, William, judge in King's Bench, notice of, i. 14 n.; solicits the good offices of Sir John Fastolf with the court, i. 16-17; reproof by, of Judge Prisot, i. 40
 Yeoman of the ewry, notice of, i. 151
 York, petition of Richard Duke of, i. 45; Duke of, and other lords, copy of a letter from, to King Henry VI., i. 62; marriage of the young Duke of, to Anne Mowbray, ii. 199

EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY

A LIST OF THE 961 VOLUMES ARRANGED UNDER AUTHORS

Anonymous works are given under titles.

Anthologies, Dictionaries, etc. are arranged at the end of the list.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Abbott's Rollo at Work, etc., 275 | Balzac's Wild Ass's Skin, 26 |
| Addison's Spectator, 164-7 | " Eugénie Grandet, 169 |
| Æschylus's Lyrical Dramas, 62 | " Old Goriot, 170 |
| Æsop's and Other Fables, 657 | " Atheist's Mass, etc., 229 |
| Aimard's The Indian Scout, 428 | " Christ in Flanders, etc., 284 |
| Ainsworth's Tower of London, 400 | " The Chouans, 285 |
| " Old St Paul's, 522 | " Quest of the Absolute, 286 |
| " Windsor Castle, 709 | " Cat and Racket, etc., 349 |
| " Rookwood, 870 | " Catherine de Médici, 419 |
| " The Admirable Crichton, 894 | " Cousin Pons, 463 |
| A Kempis's Imitation of Christ, 484 | " The Country Doctor, 530 |
| Alcott's Little Women and Good Wives, 248 | " Rise and Fall of César Birotteau, 596 |
| " Little Men, 512 | " Lost Illusions, 656 |
| Alpine Club: Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers, 778 | " The Country Parson, 686 |
| Andersen's Fairy Tales, 4 | " Ursule Mirouët, 733 |
| " More Fairy Tales, 822 | Barbusse's Under Fire, 798 |
| Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 624 | Barca's (Mme C. de la) Life in Mexico, 664 |
| Anson's Voyages, 510 | Bates's Naturalist on the Amazon, 446 |
| Aristophanes' Acharnians, etc., 344 | Baxter's (Richard) Autobiography, 868 |
| " Frogs, etc., 516 | Beaumont and Fletcher's Selected Plays, 506 |
| Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, 547 | Beaumont's (Mary) Joan Seaton, 597 |
| " Politics, 605 | Bede's Ecclesiastical History, 479 |
| " Poetics, and Demetrius on Style, etc., 901 | Belloc's Stories, Essays, and Poems, 948 |
| Armour's Fall of the Nibelungs, 312 | Belt's Naturalist in Nicaragua, 561 |
| " Gudrun, 880 | Bennett's The Old Wives' Tale, 919 |
| Arnold's (Matthew) Essays, 115 | Berkeley's (Bishop) Principles of Human Knowledge, New Theory of Vision, etc., 483 |
| " Poems, 334 | Berlioz (Hector), Life of, 602 |
| " Study of Celtic Literature, etc., 458 | Binns's Life of Abraham Lincoln, 783 |
| Aucassin and Nicolette, 497 | Björnson's Plays, 625, 696 |
| Augustine's (Saint) Confessions, 200 | Blackmore's Lorna Doone, 304 |
| Aurelius' (Marcus) Meditations, 9 | " Springhaven, 350 |
| Austen's (Jane) Sense and Sensibility, 21 | Blackwell's Pioneer Work for Women, 667 |
| " Pride and Prejudice, 22 | Blake's Poems and Prophecies, 792 |
| " Mansfield Park, 23 | Bligh's A Book of the 'Bounty,' 950 |
| " Emma, 24 | Boccaccio's Decameron, 845, 846 |
| " Northanger Abbey, and Persuasion, 25 | Boehme's The Signature of All Things, etc., 569 |
| Bacon's Essays, 10 | Bonaventura's The Little Flowers, The Life of St Francis, etc., 485 |
| " Advancement of Learning, 719 | Borrow's Wild Wales, 49 |
| Bagehot's Literary Studies, 520, 521 | " Lavengro, 119 |
| Baker's (Sir S. W.) Cast up by the Sea, 539 | " Romany Rye, 120 |
| Ballantyne's Coral Island, 245 | |
| " Martin Rattler, 246 | |
| " Ungava, 276 | |

- Borrow's Bible in Spain, 151
 " Gypsies in Spain, 697
 Boswell's Life of Johnson, 1, 2
 " Tour to the Hebrides, 387
 Boulton's Asgard and Norse Heroes, 689
 Boyle's The Sceptical Chymist, 559
 Bright's (John) Speeches, 252
 Brontë's (A.) The Tenant of Wildfell Hall, and Agnes Grey, 685
 Brontë's (C.) Jane Eyre, 287
 " Shirley, 288
 " Villette, 351
 " The Professor, 417
 Brontë's (E.) Wuthering Heights, 243
 Brown's (Dr John) Rab and His Friends, etc., 116
 Browne's (Frances) Grannie's Wonderful Chair, 112
 Browne's (Sir Thos.) Religio Medici, etc., 92
 Browning's Poems, 1833-44, 41
 " " 1844-64, 42
 " The Ring and the Book, 502
 Buchanan's Life and Adventures of Audubon, 601
 Bulfinch's The Age of Fable, 472
 " Legends of Charlemagne, 556
 Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, 204
 " Grace Abounding, and Mr Badman, 815
 Burke's American Speeches and Letters, 340
 " Reflections on the French Revolution, etc., 460
 Burnet's History of His Own Times, 85
 Burney's (Fanny) Evelina, 352
 " " Diary, A Selection, edited by Lewis Gibbs, 960
 Burns's Poems and Songs, 94
 Burton's East Africa, 500
 Burton's (Robert) Anatomy of Melancholy, 886-8
 Butler's Analogy of Religion, 90
 Butler's (Samuel) Erewhon and Erewhon Revisited, 881
 Butler's The Way of All Flesh, 895
 Buxton's Memoirs, 773
 Byron's Complete Poetical and Dramatic Works, 486-8
 " Letters, 931
 Caesar's Gallic War, etc., 702
 Calderon's Plays, 819
 Canton's Child's Book of Saints, 61
 " Invisible Playmate, etc., 566
 Carlyle's French Revolution, 31, 32
 " Letters, etc., of Cromwell, 266-8
 " Sartor Resartus, 278
 " Past and Present, 608
 " Essays, 703, 704
 " Reminiscences, 875
 Carroll's (Lewis) Alice in Wonderland, etc., 836
 Castiglione's The Courtier, 807
 Cellini's Autobiography, 51
 Cervantes' Don Quixote, 385, 386
 Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 307
 Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, 823
 Chesterton's Stories, Essays, and Poems, 913
 Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian Romances, 698
 Cibber's Apology for his Life, 668
 Cicero's Select Letters and Orations, 345
 Clarke's Tales from Chaucer, 537
 " Shakespeare's Heroines, 109-11
 Cobbett's Rural Rides, 638, 639
 Coleridge's Biographia, 11
 " Golden Book of Poetry, 43
 " Lectures on Shakespeare, 162
 Collins's Woman in White, 464
 Collodi's Pinocchio, 538
 Conrad's Lord Jim, 925
 Converse's Long Will, 328
 " House of Prayer, 923
 Cook's (Captain) Voyages, 99
 Cooper's The Deerslayer, 77
 " The Pathfinder, 78
 " Last of the Mohicans, 79
 " The Pioneer, 171
 " The Prairie, 172
 Cowper's Letters, 774
 " Poems, 872
 Cox's Tales of Ancient Greece, 721
 Craik's Manual of English Literature, 346
 Craik (Mrs). See Mulock
 Creasy's Fifteen Decisive Battles, 300
 Crèvecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer, 640
 Curtis's Prue and I, and Lotus, 418
 Dana's Two Years before the Mast, 588
 Dante's Divine Comedy, 308
 Darwin's Origin of Species, 811
 " Voyage of the Beagle, 104
 Dasent's Story of Burnt Njal, 558
 Daudet's Tartarin of Tarascon, 423
 Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, 59
 " Captain Singleton, 74
 " Memoirs of a Cavalier, 283
 " Journal of Plague, 289
 " Tour through England and Wales, 820, 821
 " Moll Flanders, 837
 De Joinville's Memoirs of the Crusades, 333
 de la Mare's Stories and Poems, 940
 Demosthenes' Select Orations, 546
 Dennis's Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 183, 184
 De Quincey's Lake Poets, 163
 " Opium-Eater, 223
 " English Mail Coach, etc., 609
 De Retz (Cardinal), Memoirs of, 735, 736

- Descartes' Discourse on Method,** 570
Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*, 76
 " *Tale of Two Cities*, 102
 " *Old Curiosity Shop*, 173
 " *Oliver Twist*, 233
 " *Great Expectations*, 234
 " *Pickwick Papers*, 235
 " *Bleak House*, 236
 " *Sketches by Boz*, 237
 " *Nicholas Nickleby*, 238
 " *Christmas Books*, 239
 " *Dombey and Son*, 240
 " *Martin Chuzzlewit*, 241
 " *David Copperfield*, 242
 " *American Notes*, 290
 " *Child's History of Eng-*
land, 291
 " *Hard Times*, 292
 " *Little Dorrit*, 293
 " *Our Mutual Friend*, 294
 " *Christmas Stories*, 414
 " *Uncommercial Traveller*,
 536
 " *Edwin Drood*, 725
 " *Reprinted Pieces*, 744
Disraeli's *Coningsby*, 535
Dodge's *Hans Brinker*, 620
Donne's *Poems*, 867
Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punish-*
ment, 501
 " *The House of the Dead*, 533
 " *Letters from the Underworld*,
etc., 654
 " *The Idiot*, 682
 " *Poor Folk, and The Gambler*,
 711
 " *The Brothers Karamazov*, 802,
 803
 " *The Possessed*, 861, 862
Dowden's *Life of R. Browning*, 701
Dryden's *Dramatic Essays*, 568
 " *Poems*, 910
Dufferin's *Letters from High Lati-*
tudes, 499
Dumas's *The Three Musketeers*, 81
 " *The Black Tulip*, 174
 " *Twenty Years After*, 175
 " *Marguerite de Valois*, 326
 " *The Count of Monte Cristo*,
 393, 394
 " *The Forty-Five*, 420
 " *Chicot the Jester*, 421
 " *Vicomte de Bragelonne*,
 593-5
 " *Le Chevalier de Maison*
Rouge, 614
Du Maurice's *Trilby*, 863
Duruy's *Heroes of England*, 471
 " *History of France*, 737, 738
Eddington's *Nature of the Physical*
World, 922
Edgar's *Cressy and Poitiers*, 17
 " *Runnymede and Lincoln*
Fair, 320
Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent, etc.*,
 410
Eighteenth-Century *Plays*, 818
Elliot's *Adam Bede*, 27
Elliot's *Silas Marner*, 121
 " *Romola*, 231
 " *Mill on the Floss*, 325
 " *Felix Holt*, 353
 " *Scenes of Clerical Life*, 468
 " *Middlemarch*, 854, 855
Ellis's (Havelock) *Selected Essays*,
Elyot's *Gouverneur*, 227 [930]
Emerson's *Essays*, 12
 " *Representative Men*, 279
 " *Nature, Conduct of Life,*
etc., 322
 " *Society and Solitude, etc.*,
 " *Poems*, 715 [567]
Epictetus' Moral Discourses, 404
Erckmann-Chatrian's *The Conscript*
and Waterloo, 354
 " *Story of a Peasant*,
 706, 707
Euclid's *Elements*, 891
Euripides' Plays, 63, 271
Evans's *Holy Graal*, 445
Evelyn's *Diary*, 220, 221
Everyman and other Interludes, 381
Ewing's (Mrs) *Mrs Overthway's*
Remembrances, etc., 730
 " *Jackanapes, Daddy Dar-*
win's Dovecot, and The
Story of a Short Life, 731
Faraday's *Experimental Researches*
in Electricity, 576
Ferrier's (Susan) *Marriage*, 816
Fielding's *Tom Jones*, 355, 356
 " *Amelia*, 852, 853
 " *Joseph Andrews*, 467
 " *Jonathan Wild, and The*
Journal of a Voyage to
Lisbon, 877
Finlay's *Byzantine Empire*, 33
 " *Greece under the Romans*,
 185
Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, 808
 " *Salamambo*, 869
Fletcher's (Beaumont and) *Selected*
Plays, 506
Ford's *Gatherings from Spain*, 152
Forster's *Life of Dickens*, 781, 782
Fox's (Charles James) *Selected*
Speeches, 759
Fox's (George) *Journal*, 754
Francis' (Saint) *The Little Flowers*,
etc., 485
Franklin's *Journey to the Polar*
Sea, 447
Freeman's *Old English History for*
Children, 540
French Mediaeval Romances, 557
Froissart's *Chronicles*, 57
Froude's *Short Studies*, 13, 705
 " *Henry VIII*, 372-4
 " *Edward VI*, 375
 " *Mary Tudor*, 477
 " *History of Queen Eliza-*
beth's Reign, 583-7
 " *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*,
Lord Beaconsfield, 666
Galsworthy's *The Country House*,
 917

- Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, 427
 Galton's *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, 263
 Gaskell's *Cranford*, 83
 „ *Life of Charlotte Brontë*,
 „ *Sylvia's Lovers*, 524 [318]
 „ *Mary Barton*, 598
 „ *Cousin Phillis, etc.*, 615
 „ *North and South*, 680
 Gatty's *Parables from Nature*, 158
 Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Histories of the Kings of Britain*, 577
 George's *Progress and Poverty*, 560
 Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, 434-6, 474-6
 „ *Autobiography*, 511
 Gilfillan's *Literary Portraits*, 348
 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Wales*, 272
 Gleig's *Life of Wellington*, 341
 „ *The Subaltern*, 708
 Goethe's *Faust*, 335
 „ *Wilhelm Meister*, 599, 600
 „ *Conversations with Eckermann*, 851
 Gogol's *Dead Souls*, 726
 „ *Taras Bulba*, 740
 Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, 295
 „ *Poems and Plays*, 415
 „ *Citizen of the World, etc.*, 902
 Goncharov's *Oblomov*, 878
 Gore's *Philosophy of the Good Life*,
 Gorki's *Through Russia*, 741 [924]
 Gotthelf's *Ulric the Farm Servant*, 228
 Gray's *Poems and Letters*, 628
 Green's *Short History of the English People*, 727, 728. The cloth edition is in 2 vols. All other editions are in 1 vol.
 Grettir Saga, 699
 Grimm's *Fairy Tales*, 56
 Grote's *History of Greece*, 186-97
 Guest's (Lady) *Mabinogion*, 97
 Hahnemann's *The Organon of the Rational Art of Healing*, 663
 Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 264, 265, 313, 314, 338, 339, 388, 389
 Hallam's *Constitutional History*, 621-3
 Hamilton's *The Federalist*, 519
 Harte's *Luck of Roaring Camp*, 681
 Harvey's *Circulation of Blood*, 262
 Hawthorne's *Wonder Book*, 5
 „ *The Scarlet Letter*, 122
 „ *House of Seven Gables*, 176
 „ *The Marble Faun*, 424
 „ *Twice Told Tales*, 531
 „ *Blithedale Romance*, 592
 Hazlitt's *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, 65
 „ *Table Talk*, 321
 „ *Lectures*, 411
 „ *Spirit of the Age and Lectures on English Poets*,
 „ *Plain Speaker*, 814 [459]
 Hebbel's *Plays*, 694
 Heimskringla: *The Olaf Sagas*, 717
 „ *Sagas of the Norse Kings*, 847
 Heine's *Prose and Poetry*, 911
 Helps's (Sir Arthur) *Life of Columbus*, 332
 Herbert's *Temple*, 309
 Herodotus, 405, 406
 Herrick's *Hesperides*, 310
 Hobbes's *Leviathan*, 691
 Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 800
 Holmes's *Life of Mozart*, 564
 Holmes's (O. W.) *Autocrat*, 66
 „ *Professor*, 67
 „ *Poet*, 68
 Homer's *Iliad*, 453
 „ *Odyssey*, 454
 Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, 201, 202 [515]
 Horace's *Complete Poetical Works*,
 Houghton's *Life and Letters of Keats*, 801
 Howard's (E.) *Rattlin the Reefer*, 857
 Howard's (John) *State of the Prisons*, 835
 Hudson's (W. H.) *A Shepherd's Life*, 926
 „ *Far Away and Long Ago*, 956 [58]
 Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays*,
 Hugo's (Victor) *Les Misérables*, 363, 364
 „ *Notre Dame*, 422
 „ *Toilers of the Sea*, 509
 Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature, etc.*, 548, 549
 Hunt's (Leigh) *Selected Essays*, 829
 Hutchinson's (Col.) *Memoirs*, 317
 Huxley's (Aldous) *Stories, Essays, and Poems*, 935
 Huxley's (T. H.) *Man's Place in Nature*, 47
 „ *Select Lectures and Lay Sermons*, 498
 Ibsen's *The Doll's House, etc.*, 494
 „ *Ghosts, etc.*, 552
 „ *Pretender, Pillars of Society, Rosmersholm*, 659
 „ *Brand*, 716
 „ *Lady Inger, etc.*, 729
 „ *Peer Gynt*, 747
 Ingelow's *Mopsa the Fairy*, 619
 Irving's *Sketch Book*, 117
 „ *Conquest of Granada*, 478
 „ *Life of Mahomet*, 513
 Italian *Short Stories*, 876
 James's (G. P. R.) *Richelieu*, 357
 James's (Henry) *The Turn of the Screw, and The Aspern Papers*, 912
 James (Wm.), *Selections from*, 739
 Jefferies's (Richard) *After London, and Amoryllis at the Fair*, 951
 „ *Bevis*, 850
 Johnson's (Dr) *Lives of the Poets*, 770-1

- Jonson's (Ben) Plays, 489, 490
 Josephus's Wars of the Jews, 712
 Kalidasa's Shakuntala, 629
 Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, 909
 Keats's Poems, 101
 Keble's Christian Year, 690
 King's Life of Mazzini, 562
 Kinglake's Eothen, 337
 Kingsley's (Chas.) Westward Ho! 20
 " Heroes, 113
 " Hereward the Wake, 206
 " Hypatia, 230
 " Water Babies, and
 Glaucus, 277
 " Alton Locke, 462
 " Yeast, 611
 " Madam How and Lady
 Why, 777
 " Poems, 793
 Kingsley's (Henry) Ravenshoe, 28
 " Geoffrey Hamlyn, 416
 Kingston's Peter the Whaler, 6
 " Three Midshipmen, 7
 Kirby's Kalevala, 259, 260
 Koran, 380
 Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, 8
 " Essays of Elia, 14
 " Letters, 342, 343
 Landor's Imaginary Conversations
 and Poems, 890
 Lane's Modern Egyptians, 315
 Langland's Piers Plowman, 571
 Latimer's Sermons, 40
 Law's Serious Call, 91
 Lawrence's The White Peacock, 914
 " Stories, Essays, and
 Poems, 958
 Layamon's (Wace and) Arthurian
 Chronicles, 578
 Lear (Edward). *See under Antho-*
 logies
 Leibniz' Philosophical Writings, 905
 Le Sage's Gil Blas, 437, 438
 Leslie's Memoirs of John Constable,
 Lessing's Laocoön, etc., 843 [563]
 Lever's Harry Lorrequer, 177
 Lewes's Life of Goethe, 269
 Lincoln's Speeches, etc., 206
 Livy's History of Rome, 603, 609
 670, 749, 755, 756
 Locke's Civil Government, 751
 Lockhart's Life of Napoleon, 3
 " Life of Scott, 55
 " Life of Burns, 156
 Longfellow's Poems, 382
 Lönnroth's Kalevala, 259, 260
 Loti's Iceland Fisherman, 920
 Lover's Handy Andy, 178
 Lowell's Among My Books, 607
 Lucretius's Of the Nature of Things,
 750
 Lützow's History of Bohemia, 432
 Lyell's Antiquity of Man, 700
 Lytton's Harold, 15
 " Last of the Barons, 18
 " Last Days of Pompeii, 80
 " Pilgrims of the Rhine, 390
 " Rienzi, 532
 Macaulay's England, 34-6
 " Essays, 225, 226
 " Speeches on Politics,
 etc., 399
 " Miscellaneous Essays,
 439
 MacDonald's Sir Gibbie, 678
 " Phantastes, 732
 Machiavelli's Prince, 280
 " Florence, 376
 Maine's Ancient Law, 734
 Malory's Le Morte D'Arthur, 45, 46
 Malthus on the Principles of
 Population, 692, 693
 Mandeville's Travels, 812
 Manning's Sir Thomas More, 19
 " Mary Powell, and De-
 borah's Diary, 324
 Marlowe's Plays and Poems, 383
 Marryat's Mr Midshipman Easy, 82
 " Little Savage, 159
 " Masterman Ready, 160
 " Peter Simple, 232
 " Children of New Forest,
 247
 " Percival Keene, 358
 " Settlers in Canada, 370
 " King's Own, 580
 " Jacob Faithful, 618
 Martineau's Feats on the Fjords, 429
 Martinengo-Cesaresco's Folk-Lore
 and other Essays, 673
 Marx's Capital, 848, 849
 Maugham's (Somerset) Cakes and
 Ale, 932
 Maupassant's Short Stories, 907
 Maurice's Kingdom of Christ, 146-7
 Mazzini's Duties of Man, etc., 224
 Melville's Moby Dick, 179
 " Typee, 180
 " Omoo, 297
 Meredith's The Ordeal of Richard
 Feverel, 916
 Mérimée's Carmen, etc., 834
 Merivale's History of Rome, 433
 Mickiewicz's Pan Tadeusz, 842
 Mignet's French Revolution, 713
 Mill's Utilitarianism, Liberty, Repre-
 sentative Government, 482
 Rights of Woman, 825
 Miller's Old Red Sandstone, 103
 Milman's History of the Jews, 377,
 378
 Milton's Poems, 384
 " Areopagitica and other
 Prose Works, 795
 Mitford's Our Village, 927
 Molière's Comedies, 830, 831
 Mommsen's History of Rome, 542-5
 Montagu's (Lady) Letters, 69
 Montaigne's Essays, 440-2
 Moore's (George) Esther Waters, 933
 More's Utopia, and Dialogue of
 Comfort against Tribulation, 461
 Morier's Hajji Baba, 679
 Morris's (Wm.) Early Romances, 261
 " Life and Death of Jason, 575
 Morte D'Arthur Romances, 634
 Motley's Dutch Republic, 86-8
 Mulock's John Halifax, 123

- Neale's Fall of Constantinople, 655
 Newcastle's (Margaret, Duchess of) Life of the First Duke of Newcastle, etc., 722 [636
 Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua, " On the Scope and Nature of University Education, and a Paper on Christianity and Scientific Investigation, 723
 Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra, 892
- Oliphant's Salem Chapel, 244
 Omar Khayyám, 819
 Osborne (Dorothy), Letters of, 674
 Ovid: Selected Works, 955
 Owen's (Robert) A New View of Society, etc., 799
- Paine's Rights of Man, 718
 Palgrave's Golden Treasury, 96
 Paltock's Peter Wilkins, 676
 Park's (Mungo) Travels, 205
 Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, 302, 303
 Pascal's Pensées, 874
 Paston Letters, 752, 753
 Pater's Marius the Epicurean, 903
 Peacock's Headlong Hall, 327
 Pearson's The Grammar of Science, 939
 Penn's The Peace of Europe, Some Fruits of Solitude, etc., 724
 Pepys's Diary, 53, 54
 Percy's Reliques, 148, 149
 Pinnow's (H.) History of Germany, [929
 Pitt's Orations, 145
 Plato's Republic, 64
 " Dialogues, 456, 457
 Plutarch's Lives, 407-9
 " Moralia, 565
 Poe's Tales of Mystery and Imagination, 336
 " Poems and Essays, 791
 Polo's (Marco) Travels, 306
 Pope's Complete Poetical Works, 760
 Prescott's Conquest of Peru, 301
 " Conquest of Mexico, 397, 398
 Prévost's Manon Lescaut, etc., 834
 Priestley's Angel Pavement, 938
 Proctor's Legends and Lyrics, 150
 Pushkin's The Captain's Daughter, etc., 898
- Quiller-Couch's Hetty Wesley, 864
- Rabelais's Gargantua and Pantagruel, 826, 827
 Radcliffe's (Mrs Ann) The Mysteries of Udolpho, 865, 866
 Ramayana and Mahabharata, 403
 Reade's The Cloister and the Hearth, 29
 " Peg Woffington, 299
 Reid's (Mayne) Boy Hunters of the Mississippi, 582
 " The Boy Slaves, 797
 Renan's Life of Jesus, 805
- Reynolds's Discourses, 118
 Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, 590
 Richardson's Pamela, 683, 684
 " Clarissa, 882-5
 Roberts's (Morley) Western Avenue, 762
 Robertson's Religion and Life, 37
 " Christian Doctrine, 38
 " Bible Subjects, 39
 Robinson's (Wade) Sermons, 637
 Roget's Thesaurus, 630, 631
 Rossetti's (D. G.) Poems, 627
 Rousseau's Emile, 518
 " Social Contract and other Essays, 660
 " Confessions, 859, 860
 Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture, 207
 " Modern Painters, 208-12
 " Stones of Venice, 213-15
 " Unto this Last, etc., 216
 " Elements of Drawing, etc., 217
 " Pre-Raphaelitism, etc., 218
 " Sesame and Lilies, 219
 " Ethics of the Dust, 282
 " Crown of Wild Olive, and Cestus of Aglaia, 323
 " Time and Tide, etc., 450
 " The Two Boyhoods, 683
 Russell's Life of Gladstone, 661
- Sand's (George) The Devil's Pool, and François the Waif, 534
 Scheffel's Ekkehard, 529
 Scott's (M.) Tom Cringle's Log, 710
 Scott's (Sir W.) Ivanhoe, 18
 " Fortunes of Nigel, 71
 " Woodstock, 72
 " Waverley, 75
 " The Abbot, 124
 " Anne of Geierstein, 125
 " The Antiquary, 126
 " Highland Widow, and Betrothed, 127
 " Black Dwarf, Legend of Montrose, 128
 " Bride of Lammermoor, 129
 " Castle Dangerous, Surgeon's Daughter, 130
 " Robert of Paris, 131
 " Fair Maid of Perth, 132
 " Guy Mannering, 133
 " Heart of Midlothian, 134
 " Kenilworth, 135
 " The Monastery, 136
 " Old Mortality, 137
 " Peveril of the Peak, 138
 " The Pirate, 139
 " Quentin Durward, 140
 " Redgauntlet, 141
 " Rob Roy, 142
 " St Ronan's Well, 143
 " The Talisman, 144
 " Lives of the Novelists, 331
 " Poems and Plays, 550, 551
 Seebohm's Oxford Reformers, 665
 Seeley's Ecce Homo, 305
 Sewell's (Anna) Black Beauty, 748

- Shakespeare's Comedies, 153
 " Histories, etc., 154
 " Tragedies, 155
 Shchedrin's The Golovlyov Family, 908
 Shelley's Poetical Works, 257, 258
 Shelley's (Mrs) Frankenstein, 616
 " Rights of Women, 825
 Sheppard's Charles Auchester, 505
 Sheridan's Plays, 95
 Sienkiewicz's Tales, 871
 Simondi's Italian Republics, 250
 Smeaton's Life of Shakespeare, 514
 Smith's Wealth of Nations, 412, 413
 Smith's (George) Life of Wm. Carey, 395
 Smollett's Roderick Random, 790
 " Peregrine Pickle, 838, 839
 Sophocles' Dramas, 114
 Southey's Life of Nelson, 52
 Spectator, 164-7
 Speke's Source of the Nile, 50
 Spencer's (Herbert) Essays on Education, 503
 Spenser's Faerie Queene, 443, 444
 " The Shepherd's Calendar, [879]
 Spinoza's Ethics, etc., 481 [879]
 Spyri's Heidi, 431
 Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury, Eastern Church, 251 [89]
 Steele's The Spectator, 164-7
 Stendhal's Scarlet and Black, 945,
 Sterne's Tristram Shandy, 617 [946]
 " Sentimental Journey, and Journal to Eliza, 796
 Stevenson's Treasure Island, and Kidnapped, 763
 " Master of Ballantrae, and The Black Arrow, 764
 " Virginibus Puerisque, and Familiar Studies of Men and Books, 765
 " An Inland Voyage, Travels with a Donkey, and Silverado Squatters, 766
 " Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, The Merry Men, etc., 767
 " Poems, 768
 " In the South Seas, and Island Nights' Entertainments, 769
 " St Ives, 904
 St Francis, The Little Flowers of, etc., 485
 Stow's Survey of London, 589
 Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, 371
 Strickland's Queen Elizabeth, 100
 Surtees's Jorrocks's Jaunts, 817
 Swedenborg's Heaven and Hell, 379
 " Divine Love and Wisdom, 635
 " Divine Providence, 658
 " The True Christian Religion, 893
 Swift's Gulliver's Travels, Unabridged Edition, 60
 " Tale of a Tub, etc., 347
 " Journal to Stella, 757
 Swinburne's (A. C.), Poems and Prose, 961
 Swinnerton's The Georgian Literary Scene, 943
 Swiss Family Robinson, 430
 Tacitus's Annals, 273
 " Agricola and Germania, 274
 Taylor's Words and Places, 517
 Tchekhov's Plays and Stories, 941
 Tennyson's Poems, 44, 626
 Thackeray's Esmond, 73
 " Vanity Fair, 298
 " Christmas Books, 359
 " Pendennis, 425, 426
 " Newcomes, 465, 466
 " The Virginians, 507, 508
 " English Humorists, and The Four Georges, 610
 " Roundabout Papers, 687
 Thierry's Norman Conquest, 198, 199
 Thoreau's Walden, 281
 Thucydides' Peloponnesian War, 455
 Tolstoy's Master and Man, and Other Parables and Tales, 469
 " War and Peace, 525-7
 " Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth, 591
 " Anna Karenina, 612, 613
 Trench's On the Study of Words and English Past and Present, 788
 Trollope's Barchester Towers, 30
 " Framley Parsonage, 181
 " The Warden, 182
 " Dr Thorne, 360 [361]
 " Small House at Allington, [361]
 " Last Chronicles of Barset, 391, 392 [761]
 " Golden Lion of Granpere, Phineas Finn, 832, 833
 Trotter's The Bayard of India, 396
 " Hodson of Hodson's Horse, Warren Hastings, 452 [401]
 Turgenev's Virgin Soil, 528
 " Liza, 677
 " Fathers and Sons, 742
 Tyndall's Glaciers of the Alps, 98
 Tytler's Principles of Translation, 168
 Vasari's Lives of the Painters, 784-7
 Verne's (Jules) Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea, 319
 " Dropped from the Clouds, 367
 " Abandoned, 368
 " The Secret of the Island, 369
 " Five Weeks in a Balloon, and Around the World in Eighty Days, 779
 Virgil's Aeneid, 161
 " Eclogues and Georgics, 222
 Voltaire's Life of Charles XII, 270
 " Age of Louis XIV, 780
 " Candide and Other Tales, 936
 Wace and Layamon's Arthurian Chronicles, 578 [etc., 828]
 Wakefield's Letter from Sydney, Walpole's Letters, 775
 Walpole's (Hugh) Mr Perrin and Mr Traill, 918

Walton's Compleat Angler, 70
 Waterton's Wanderings in South America, 772 [899
 Webster and Ford's Selected Plays,
 Wells's The Time Machine, and The
 Wheels of Chance, 915
 Wesley's Journal, 105-8
 White's Selborne, 48
 Whitman's Leaves of Grass, and
 Democratic Vistas, etc., 573
 Whyte-Melville's Gladiators, 523
 Wilde's Plays, Prose Writings and
 Poems, 858 [84
 Wood's (Mrs Henry) The Channings,
 Woolf's To the Lighthouse, 949
 Woolman's Journal, etc., 402
 Wordsworth's Shorter Poems, 203
 „ Longer Poems, 311
 Xenophon's Cyropaedia, 67
 Yellow Book, 503
 Yonge's The Dove in the Eagle's
 Nest, 329
 „ The Book of Golden Deeds, 330
 „ The Heir of Redclyffe, 362
 „ The Little Duke, 470
 „ The Lances of Lynwood, 579
 Young's (Arthur) Travels in France
 and Italy, 720
 Zola's Germinal, 897

Anthologies, Dictionaries, etc.

A Book of English Ballads, 572
 A Book of Heroic Verse, 574
 A Book of Nonsense, by Edward
 Lear, and Others, 806
 A Century of Essays, An Anthology,
 653
 American Short Stories of the Nine-
 teenth Century, 840
 A New Book of Sense and Nonsense,
 813
 An Anthology of English Prose:
 From Bede to Stevenson, 675
 An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, by
 Walter P. Wright, 555
 Ancient Hebrew Literature, 4 vols.,
 Anglo-Saxon Poetry, 794 [253-6
 Annals of Fairyland, 365, 366, 541
 Anthology of British Historical
 Speeches and Orations, 714
 Atlas of Classical Geography, 451
 Atlases, Literary and Historical:
 Europe, 496; America, 553; Asia,
 633; Africa and Australasia, 662
 Dictionary, Biographical, of English
 Literature, 449
 „ Biographical, of Foreign
 Literature, 900
 „ of Dates, New Edition to
 end of 1939, 554

Dictionary, Everyman's English, 776
 „ of Non-Classical Myth-
 ology, 632
 „ Smaller Classical, 495
 „ of Quotations and Pro-
 verbs, 809, 810
 English Galaxy of Shorter Poems,
 The, Chosen and Edited by
 Gerald Bullett, 959
 English Religious Verse, Edited by
 G. Lacey May, 937
 English Short Stories. An An-
 thology, 743
 Fairy Gold, 157
 Fairy Tales from the Arabian Nights,
 French Short Stories, 896 [249
 Ghost Stories, Edited by John
 Hampden, 952
 Golden Book of Modern English
 Poetry, 921 [746
 Golden Treasury of Longer Poems,
 Hindu Scriptures, Edited by Dr
 Nicol Macnicol, 944
 Minor Elizabethan Drama, 491, 492
 Minor Poets of the Eighteenth Cen-
 tury, 844
 Minor Poets of the Seventeenth
 Century, 873
 Modern Humour, Edited by Guy
 Pocock and M. M. Bozman, 957
 Modern Plays, 942
 Modern Short Stories, Edited by
 John Hadfield, 954
 Mother Goose, 473
 Muses' Pageant, The, 581, 606, 671
 New Golden Treasury, 695
 New Testament, The, 93
 Poetry Book for Boys and Girls, 894
 Political Liberty, a Symposium, 745
 Prayer Books of King Edward VI,
 First and Second, 448
 Prelude to Poetry, 789
 Reader's Guide to Everyman's
 Library, revised edition, covering
 the first 950 vols., 889
 Restoration Plays, 604
 Russian Short Stories, 758
 Selections from St Thomas Aquinas,
 Edited by The Rev. Father
 M. C. D'Arcy, 953
 Shorter Novels: Elizabethan, 824
 „ Jacobean and Restora-
 tion, 841
 „ Eighteenth Century, 856
 Story Book for Boys and Girls, 934
 Table Talk, 906
 Tales of Detection, 928
 Theology in the English Poets, 493
 Thesaurus of English Words and
 Phrases, Roget's, 630, 631
 Twenty One-Act Plays, Selected by
 John Hampden, 947

NOTE—The following numbers are at present out of print:

89, 100, 109, 110, 111, 146, 147, 228, 244, 275, 346, 350, 376,
 390, 418, 493, 540, 541, 574, 597, 641-52, 664, 679

LONDON: J. M. DENT & SONS LTD
 NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.

